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Notice to Our Readers

The Nation is making every effort to serve its subscribers and newsstand readers as promptly as possible. Although the magazine is mailed regularly every Wednesday evening, you may find that your copies sometimes do not reach you promptly. If they are delayed, the reason is war-time curtailment of transportation. We sincerely regret any delay and the inconvenience it may cause.

The Shape of Things

ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS CAN buy two medium tanks or it can treat Martin Dies to another two years of self-seeking publicity. It can give our men in Tunis two 155-mm field guns or it can be spent by Mr. Dies on knifing their government back home. Representative Cox of Georgia has introduced a resolution to continue the life of the Dies committee through 1944. Even if Dies's motives were the best, that would be a scandalous waste of public funds. "We now have three highly competent agencies all working together—the FBI, the Army Intelligence, and the Navy Intelligence," as the Attorney General of the United States has pointed out. "It is always a pity to have this amateur stuff developed by Mr. Dies or any other individual." Dies has fulfilled his responsibilities with an incompetence that borders on the criminally negligent. The powers given him to track down subversive elements he has shamelessly used to vilify patriotic men and women whose liberal views are politically distasteful to him. Time and again he has come before Congress and promised to reform, but he has never kept his word. Last July he promised a thousand-page exposé of Nazi activities in the United States. The report was prepared but never issued. Instead he comes before Congress now with a list of forty names of government employees whom he calls "crackpots and radical bureaucrats," every one of whom has been devoting his energies to the winning of the war while Martin Dies has been engaged in sabotaging the morale of the country. We intend to deal with this subject more fully next week. Meanwhile, if you resent this scandalous misuse of taxes, let your Congressman know about it in terms he can't forget.

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THERE IS NO NEED TO MEET HITLER'S proclamation with detailed refutation of its preposterous argument. No need even to remark upon its weak-spirited gloom. Gone is the exultation. Absent is the martial spirit. Everything in this document is in contrast with the dignity, say, of Churchill's appeals in times of stress. Even the political tricks are stale. By implication Hitler offers us the choice of a Europe overrun by the Bolsheviks or a negotiated peace. It is too naive. The world has seen who is the destroyer. Then, having tested the force of this vain appeal within his own furtive mind, as it were, Hitler suddenly mutters, "In this war there will be neither victor nor vanquished but only those who survive and those who are destroyed." Some have seen in this a repetition of the old threat of the Nazis to slam the door of history, if they are driven from the scene, with such violence as will horrify the world. But note how this man stumbles in his appeal to the German people—shouting one minute that Germany will surge on to victory and muttering the next that there will be no victory on either side! The wretched interjection may be a threat, but most likely it was a case of strained nerves. He cannot take it. There is so much he will have to take. The Russians have not yet finished with him, and we have hardly begun.

*

FOR ALL THE HANDSHAKING THAT WENT on at Casablanca, it was evident from the first communiqué that all Gaul would continue to be divided in three parts. Part One is governed by General De Gaulle, who insists that fascists be eliminated from power along with the Vichy laws which they administer as his price for joining forces with Part Two. Part Two is governed by General Giraud, who lays down as the pre-condition of unity with Part One the complete merging of the De Gaulle army into his own fighting forces in North Africa. He is opposed to Vichy law, he says, though he would move slowly to eliminate it; but he makes distinctions among Vichy men, seeing a villain in Laval and a patriot in Peyrouton. Part Three, the 40,000,000 people of metropolitan France, suffers in a dazed helplessness. According to Count de Boislambert, who escaped from a French jail just in time to accompany De Gaulle to Casablanca, Part Three is alarmed at the power retained by such patriots as Peyrouton and Noguès in the very presence of the liberating army from America. "Extremist reactions," said Boislambert, "are to be feared in such conditions." Evidence accumulates to justify their fears. General Giraud has impressed correspondents with his sincerity, but also, says Drew Middleton, he has "astonished them with his political ignorance." One must be ignorant indeed to treat as a French patriot the man who served as Himmler to the Marshal and who from his retreat in Argentina assailed all Fighting Frenchmen as "cowards and traitors." Only the valor of ignorance, in fact, could allow General Giraud, brought to power by the bayonets of the United Nations, to announce that democracy and decent treatment of the Jews in his domain are internal questions, "in which the world as a whole has no interest."

*

THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT, IT IS REPORTED, has proposed a Finnish-Swedish alliance. Helsinki's intention cannot be mistaken. As the Russian advance continues, hope of Finnish victory disappears. Finland, therefore, must make defensive treaties—against whom? Some commentators have pointed out the danger from Germany; yet Sweden surely could not be of much assistance against the Reich. Other commentators, remembering that in 1940 Moscow strongly objected to Finland's attempt to form a Baltic alliance, have suggested that the proposed pact would be one way of winning some anti-Axis support should the Soviets prove vindictive. Peace is in the Finnish air. Mannerheim has refused to become a candidate for the Presidency; the pro-German, anti-American Finnish Foreign Minister will shortly be pushed out of office. The people are weary of a useless war. The London *Daily Mail* even reports that Helsinki has asked the Papacy to act as go-between. Yet formal peace is obviously impossible until the Russians have driven the Nazis from the nearby Baltic shores. When that has been done, Soviet demands will probably not be too severe, especially as the Finns are said to be willing to accept the 1940 frontiers established after the Soviet invasion.

*

TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE CIVIL WAR IN Yugoslavia, the Germans on January 23 launched a new campaign, apparently directed against Mihailovich's forces alone. This may indicate that Berlin believes the Chetniks to be more vulnerable and more easily isolated from the people than the Partisan forces. The immediate result was a crop of rumors concerning a possible ending of the civil war. Noticeably absent from the British Communist press were the customary attacks on Mihailovich. Sources in Berne have reported that a deal is about to be made between the powerful Constituent Assembly, virtually the new Yugoslav government, and the royal government-in-exile. On the other hand, the London correspondent of the New York *Times* wires that matters are no better than they were. But, despite reports, London is not intransigently backing the royal government's foreign policy or its attitude toward the Partisans. And Moscow is probably less interested in the formation of a Yugoslav Soviet state after the war than it is in preparing for easy collaboration with United Nations forces should they invade the Balkans. Knowing that governments, temporary or otherwise, are established by invading armies, Moscow would probably prefer a friendlier collaborator than a restored royal government might prove to be.

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LAST WEEK'S MAN-POWER HEARINGS BEFORE the Senate Military Affairs Committee indicated that the armed forces are determined to go through with their program calling for a substantial increase in army and navy personnel in 1943. Present plans call for a total of approximately 10,420,000 to be enrolled in the armed services by the end of the year—8,200,000 in the army, and about 2,220,000 in the navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard. Many observers, inside and outside of Congress, are still unconvinced of the necessity for withdrawing such a large additional number of workers from civilian production this year, and it is not yet certain that the President will indorse the recommendations of the services. In the course of his report to Congressional leaders on Casablanca he is said to have estimated that an army of 7,500,000 would suffice to finish the job. The higher figure desired by the services could be borne by the economy but only if far more drastic steps are taken to mobilize man-power for factories and farms. Mr. McNutt is again talking of drafting workers in non-essential occupations, and there is likely to be a revival of plans for saving labor by compulsory standardization of civilian goods. A necessary preliminary, however, to constructive action is a coordination of the overlapping government authorities concerned in man-power and the mobilization of economic resources such as is provided for by the Kilgore-Pepper bill. And, incidentally, a consolidation of legislative committees dealing with the subject might help to dispel confusion.

*

THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE has reported out the Hobbs bill, which would make unions subject to penalties of the Anti-Racketeering Act of 1934. Heads of unions whose members are convicted of interfering with interstate shipments of any kind would be liable under this bill to twenty years' imprisonment and a fine of $10,000. Thus, in effect, all strikes, picketing, or soliciting for union membership affecting truck, railway, or express service would be outlawed. Although labeled as an anti-racketeering measure, the bill obviously has nothing to do with rackets as such. Its one purpose is to break labor unions in so far as this can be done by federal law. A similar, though milder, measure was reported out by the Judiciary Committee at the last session of Congress but was kept from the House floor by public pressure. This year, however, the strengthened anti-labor forces are obviously hoping to rush the bill through as a Peglerian anti-racketeering measure before its implications are generally realized. No hearings were held, and the committee's action was taken in an executive session. Undemocratic tactics of this kind can best be countered by the traditional democratic methods of widespread publicity and the utmost popular pressure on Congress.

IN THE LETTER COLUMNS OF THE NEW YORK *Times* one day last week there appeared a communication under the head, "Mr. Wolfert States Position. Upholds His Report of Conditions as He Found Them on Guadalcanal." In the interests of accuracy the caption might have read: "*Times* Caught in Flagrant Deception. Distorted Correspondent's Report but Sees No Need for Apology." The letter was Ira Wolfert's painfully restrained complaint about the leading editorial in the *Times* of January 25, purporting to compare Captain Eddie Rickenbacker's version of how the men on Guadalcanal Island feel about the post-war world with the version set forth by Mr. Wolfert in *The Nation* of January 23. In his article Wolfert described a "bull session" on the island in which an enlightened if somewhat crudely formulated point of view was expressed by one of the marines. After the marine spoke, Wolfert wrote, "somebody said something about a soapbox," and when the colonel followed up by expressing the view that the marine's dream was fine but impossible of realization, "the sudden lift of the crowd disappeared and gave way to a vague restlessness." The *Times* editorial writer made it appear that the soapbox jibe was addressed to Wolfert, who had made similar remarks several days earlier, and that it was his speech that produced the "vague restlessness." He went on from there to compare Mr. Wolfert's position with that of the Popular Front in France, "which also stirred up a 'vague restlessness' among the French masses that in the end led to the French collapse." Ira Wolfert's reputation as an objective newspaperman can probably withstand the *Times's* picture of him as a Popular Front soapboxer among the troops. The reputation of the *Times* for objectivity is left on somewhat shakier ground.

*

THE AMERICAN-HUNGARIAN FEDERATION, which held a public meeting in Bridgeport, Connecticut, last Sunday, was founded some years ago by Ivan Nagy, emissary of the Hungarian Goebbels, Dr. Antal. It is composed of various mutual-aid and insurance societies. Its members are not interested in politics; its leaders are, as they proved by taking an active part in the congress, held in Budapest in 1938, of the World Federation of Hungarians, which bears a striking resemblance to the Bund der Auslandsdeutschen. The congress demonstrated for revisionism and the German alliance. The American-Hungarian Federation, which, as its president once said, "is not anti-German but pro-Hungary," is still part of the World Federation. Yet the Bridgeport meeting was honored by a message from Assistant Secretary of State A. A. Berle, Jr. He spoke of the "Nazi tyranny which is today plundering Hungary and sending Hungarians by thousands to die on the Russian plains." We had thought it was Horthy who

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was sending Hungarians to die on the Russian plains. But wait. It seems that Horthy, having lost faith in a Nazi victory, would now renounce the German alliance and become the "Danubian Darlan." Perhaps Mr. Berle was just being "expedient" in omitting mention of the fact that we are at war with Horthy's Hungary.

*

DUN AND BRADSTREET SEEM TO HAVE BEEN hired by the army as an investigating agency. One of our editors had a call from a Dun and Bradstreet representative asking about an applicant for a commission. The investigator wanted to know if the person in question came of "an American background" and was surprised to hear that the applicant already had his commission. "An American background" is sometimes a euphemism for something else. What this something else is may be illustrated by the report recently given to us of a conversation between a Naval Intelligence investigator and a government employee. The investigator was a woman, and finally got to the question, "What is his racial extraction?" "I don't know what you mean," was the answer. "Well, you know," the investigator said, "is he Italian or Spanish or Jewish or anything like that?" "I never asked about his parents' nationality," was the reply; "naturally he himself is American." "Come now," the investigator said impatiently, "you know what I mean. Is he Anglo-Saxon?"

*

PROBABLY A GOOD DEAL OF THE EVIL THAT Governor Talmadge did lives after him in Georgia, but in one instance, at least, it has been undone. The Board of Regents has voted to reemploy, as president of Georgia Teachers College, Dr. Marvin S. Pittman, who was ousted, along with Dean Walter D. Cocking of the University of Georgia School of Education, in the course of one of Talmadge's rampages on "white supremacy." Enrolment in the Georgia Teachers College had dropped 50 per cent because the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools withdrew the accredited standing of the Georgia university system. Dr. Pittman will apparently return. Dr. Cocking, runs the report, has no desire to go back to Georgia at this time. We hardly blame him.

*

IN AN EFFORT TO BOOST NEGRO MORALE the OWI is distributing 2,000,000 copies of a booklet entitled "Negroes and the War." Lavishly illustrated, it describes what American Negroes are doing in agriculture, industry, and the armed services, outlines progress made by Negroes in all fields during recent years, and refers to the achievements of outstanding Negro citizens. In addition, it discusses what an American victory will mean to Negroes and what they have to lose if the Axis triumphs. The OWI has done an intelligent and sincere job, and it is not its fault that other government departments persist in tearing down the edifice it is trying to build. The latest example of sabotage to come to light is the army's undermining of its much-advertised program for training Negro pilots and other air-force personnel. Unable to make any headway against prejudice, Judge William H. Hastie has resigned as civilian aide to Secretary of War Stimson, charging that the air force has not wanted Negro personnel from the beginning and that it is influenced by "wholly unscientific notions that race somehow controls a man's capacities and aptitudes." More than two years ago, Judge Hastie recalls, a plan for a segregated training center at Tuskegee was submitted to him. His detailed objections were ignored, and since then no projects affecting Negroes have been referred to him by the air command. Meanwhile, he says, Negro volunteers for the ground forces have been organized in "aviation squadrons (separate)" "without any specific military duties but with odd jobs of common labor the characteristic assignment." While attitudes like this persist, the best efforts of the OWI can hardly be expected to bear much fruit.

Anti-Climax in Morocco

CASABLANCA was a big story, but it did not quite match its build-up; so that the actual release of the news of the latest Anglo-American conference produced a general sense of anti-climax. The official communiqué was lavish in giving names of participants, but very sparing in its details of discussions and decisions. Correspondents on the spot did their best, but their combined efforts could only produce a colorful background to a very incomplete picture. Of course, any meeting between the war leaders of the two Western democracies is news in itself, and its dramatic interest was heightened by President Roosevelt's unprecedented flight. We can all applaud his physical courage and his disregard of conventions.

But when that is said we must record our feeling that Casablanca represents a great but fumbled opportunity. In an editorial in last week's *Nation* we commented on some of the obviously inspired stories which preceded the release of news of the conference and, with more optimism than discretion, suggested that the United Nations might be about to develop a political and military strategy based on real union. These stories were something more than reportorial wishful thinking. They came from several sources in Washington and London and were clearly based on inside tips. Yet the event showed that as forecasts of the Casablanca decisions they were wide of the mark.

It had been indicated, for instance, that all four of the great allied powers were engaging in the discussions;

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it turned out that once again global strategy was being considered in an Anglo-American framework. It is true that the British and American governments were not alone responsible for this disappointment. Stalin was invited, apparently in the most cordial terms, to join Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill, and an offer was made to suit his convenience by shifting the venue of the conference much farther east. The reason given for his refusal is that he was fully occupied directing the great Russian offensive, and this is a perfectly valid explanation. But if Stalin could not attend the meeting personally, could he not have been represented by some leading member of the Soviet government or at least have sent a qualified military observer? No entirely satisfactory answer to this question has been given by any commentator on the conference, and we are left wondering if the U. S. S. R. still feels insufficiently certain of the goodwill of its allies. Some of the recent actions of the State Department, it must be admitted, are hardly calculated to allay Russian suspicions.

Another forecast, which proved without foundation, hinted at the early advent of a supreme United Nations War Council. Apparently, however, we are to continue as before, with local Anglo-American unity of command on fronts where forces are jointly engaged, but no over-all authority to decide the main lines of strategy. No doubt, if it is impossible to get the leaders of the Big Four around the same conference table, it is too much to hope for a supreme War Council.

The most satisfying parts of the Casablanca communiqué, despite their necessary vagueness, were the references to coming military actions. Aided by a galaxy of high officers, the American and British leaders reached complete agreement upon "war plans and enterprises to be undertaken during the campaigns of 1943 against Germany, Italy, and Japan with a view to drawing the utmost advantage from the markedly favorable turn of events at the close of 1942." So far as Europe is concerned, that favorable turn is represented by the pocketing of the Axis forces in a corner of Africa and the ever-increasing momentum of the Russian winter offensive. These successes, however, have still to be exploited: first, by completing the clearance of Africa and so opening the Mediterranean gateway into Fortress Europe; second, as the communiqué says, by drawing "as much weight as possible off the Russian armies." Clearly, every blow we land on the Axis in the Mediterranean contributes toward the relief of the Red Army. But it is doubtful whether the German defeat on the eastern front can be turned into demoralization without the application of Anglo-American pressure at some point nearer to the Reich itself. The Casablanca communiqué implies that some new front is in the making, and we look for an early substantiation of this hint.

The chief political announcement of the Casablanca conference did not receive any official form. It was the President's statement to the press that the keynote of the deliberations was "unconditional surrender" of the enemy. This is a good slogan which ought to put a severe damper on any peace-offensive moves which Hitler may have been contemplating. But we are regretfully unable to share Walter Lippmann's confidence that fixing "unconditional surrender" as our war aim means the unconditional doom of the Axis satellite regimes. The captive peoples of Europe, he continues, will now understand "that the future in each country lies, not with those who have collaborated with Germany, but with those among them who have resisted."

We agree that this is what "unconditional surrender" should imply, but the French African laboratory test suggests that we are far from arriving at any coherent war-and-peace-aims policy. The European peoples will judge us by deeds, and so long as these suggest that it is profitable to run with the Axis hare and hunt with the democratic hounds, we shall continue to gladden the hearts of Quislings while forcing our real allies within Europe to look for salvation toward Moscow. The fact that the Casablanca conferees failed apparently even to face this problem is the real measure of their failure to rise to their opportunities.

Farm Prices and Wages

WHILE news from the battlefields is on the whole encouraging, the defense of the home front has reached a critical stage. It begins to look as if the battle against inflation is being lost, that all we can hope for is a delaying action that will keep the front from collapsing completely. The most serious immediate threat comes from the farm bloc, which has pushed its bill for redefining parity through the House Agricultural Committee. It is predicted that the bill will be adopted quickly by the House and sent to the Senate, where sustained opposition is unlikely. Even the sponsors of the bill admit that it would bring a substantial increase in food costs. But they insist that the rise is necessary to stimulate the increase in food production which Food Administrator Wickard has requested for 1943.

Wickard's proposal to bring about this increase by paying a $100,000,000 subsidy to the producers of the needed protein crops has come under heavy fire from the farm-bloc Congressmen. They argue that the proposed subsidies are "inflationary" because, unlike higher prices, they encourage consumption. The purpose of the subsidies is of course to alleviate as far as possible the existing shortages in dairy products, meat, and legumes, and thereby improve the nutritive quality of America's war-time diet. A subsidy to the growers of fresh vegetables was announced earlier with the same end in view. Any large government expenditure is inflationary to a degree, but the payment of subsidies makes it possible

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to stimulate production without endangering existing price ceilings and to absorb through increased taxation the additional buying power created. Any further rise in prices, on the other hand, is bound to result in a demand for increased wages, thus setting off the spiral of inflation.

Increased food prices account for the bulk of the 22 per cent rise in living costs since August, 1939. Food prices are 33 per cent higher than before the war, and are continuing to rise at the rate of about 1 per cent a month. In view of this steady upward trend and of the farmers' demand for still higher prices, it is hardly surprising that organized labor is asking for a review of the Little Steel formula, which restricted wage increases to 15 per cent. The fact that the request is justified on the basis of common fairness does not make it less dangerous. Any substantial increase in wages is bound to be followed by renewed pressure for higher prices from the farm bloc. Already what might be called the employers' bloc is holding up the Treasury bill on the public-debt limit by insisting on a rider to repeal the $25,000 restriction on earned income after taxes. Yet rejection of labor's demand for revision of the Little Steel formula would almost certainly lead to a wave of strikes and disputes highly detrimental to the war effort.

In this difficult position the War Labor Board will undoubtedly try to stave off disaster by some compromise on the Little Steel formula. As a first step a 5 per cent increase in the cost-of-living allowance is being considered; this would permit wage increases up to 20 per cent above the January, 1941, level. But such action assumes that the Administration will crack down and permit no change in the parity formula and will find some way of at least slowing down the increase in food prices. Politically this will be very hard to achieve. Price Administrator Prentiss Brown has announced that he expects prices to continue to rise at the rate of one-half of 1 per cent a month, which seems optimistic. The vast reservoir of excess buying power that has been created by the war—totaling at least $50 billion—is bound to break through existing controls unless one of two things is done: either all consumers' goods must be so strictly rationed that the excess money can only be used for the purchase of war bonds, or the excess must be absorbed by taxation and compulsory savings. At the moment OPA policy seems to be headed, somewhat cautiously, toward the first of these alternatives. It is, however, an extremely hazardous and unpleasant course to follow. It presents immense problems of enforcement and plays into the hands of black-market dealers. The other alternative—drastic taxation—is politically unpopular, but appears to offer the only real hope of preserving our present wage-price ceilings and staving off inflation, which, as Bernard Baruch has said, is one of the most destructive consequences of war.

Hull and the Press

TO UNDERSTAND Secretary Hull's recent outbursts of peevishness over the press, one must understand the nature of State Department press conferences, which are stiff and musty affairs. Everyone stands. There is none of the good-humored give-and-take which exists in other departments and at the White House. The Secretary is not accustomed to be asked real questions, and the routine queries of department press conferences are answered in the vague phrases and ambiguous sentences of diplomatic communiqués. This language seems to come naturally to the Secretary.

The Secretary has not denied, because he has been unable truthfully to deny, recent stories in *The Nation* and *PM* on Bolivia and on North Africa. The overwhelming majority of American papers of all shades of opinion are critical of North African policy. Hull's moment of triumph at the time of the North African landing has dissolved into a dismal failure and left him and his moral pretensions discredited. He has sought to escape criticism by shifting responsibility for our African foreign policy to the War Department, the OWI, and the White House. At one and the same time he has accused his critics of not wanting information and has refused to answer questions when asked. As the Washington *Post* said in a leading editorial entitled Mr. Hull's Ire, these questions "are not answered by the slurring personalities in which the Secretary of State is by innuendo indulging or by the spleen which seems to characterize his latter-day discussions on high policy."

One of the innuendoes to which the *Post* referred was the Secretary's slur on Walter Lippmann. Another was his petty attack on our Washington editor, I. F. Stone. The Secretary uses questions planted with friendly reporters to permit the press to infer facts he will not take the responsibility for stating. It was of such a planted question that Stone asked whether the Secretary accepted the implication that the State Deparment opposed the Peyrouton appointment. Instead of replying, the Secretary asked his name and when told "Stone," asked, "You have some other name, too, have you not?" This was a reference to the fact that Stone was born Isidor Feinstein and that I. F. Stone is a pen name made legal several years ago. We know the Secretary is not anti-Semitic, but he has provided another incident on which papers of the type of the Chicago *Tribune* have seized to do a little dabbling in dirty waters. He has encouraged Congressional Jew-baiters like Rankin of Mississippi, who made Hull's remarks the occasion for a scurrilous attack on Stone from the floor of the House.

The affair does no credit to Cordell Hull. It is appalling that a Secretary of State should stoop to the level of a cheap and childish retort in his anxiety to evade a proper question.

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Capital Notes

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 31

WHILE we announce the sending of a commission to Bolivia, one from Bolivia has already arrived in Washington. It is made up of the Big Three of tin—Patino, Hochschild, and Aramayo—and the purpose of their visit may be succinctly summarized as higher prices for themselves and lower wages for their workers. They may or may not find a friend in Joseph T. Rovensky, former vice-president of the Chase National Bank and former vice-president and director of the Patino mines. Rovensky says he has kept hands off tin since arriving in Washington in the middle of 1940 as right-hand man of Nelson Rockefeller. Rovensky is in charge of commercial relations at the Coordinator's office, and there is no evidence that he has played or will play any part in the tin situation. (Sometimes one wishes that the influence of the big business men here would work in reverse and that a man like Rovensky might buttonhole a few old associates and tell them of the Good Neighbor policy. I suppose I'm being naive again.)

The sending of a commission to Bolivia is something of a victory. Of the six members of the group I can report only on Judge Calvert Magruder, who will be chairman, and Robert J. Watt of the A. F. of L. Both are excellent appointments. The commission was picked at the State Department, and this may explain the absence of a C. I. O. member. One of its jobs should be to force the release of the forty Bolivian labor officials who are still in jail for their part in the recent tin strike. The appointment of a commission is an admission that the tin strike was not a Nazi plot but the result of genuine grievances; yet no step has been taken to reinstate in the Pan-American Union the official who had the courage to bring this situation forcibly to public attention. Ernest Galarza is looking for a job.

ANOTHER RECENT casualty among progressive officials is Gardner Jackson, a Shelleyan character whose rise and fall in Administration circles has become a political barometer. He has been fired by the Department of Agriculture, where he was special assistant to Under Secretary Paul H. Appleby. Though Jackson played a major part in making Secretary of Agriculture Claude A. Wickard Food Administrator, he was dropped in an effort to adjust the department's sails to big winds expected from the Dies committee. Jackson earned the hatred of the farm bloc by mobilizing labor counter-pressure to support the White House during the parity fight. Farm Bureau bigwigs hate him for splitting their own organization and for his work with the Farmers' Union. The big lumber interests regard him as an enemy for his work to revive abandoned sawmills and expand lumber production. Jackson was also marked for slaughter because he sided with Parisius and the friends of Farm Security.

A sample of Jackson's work was his campaign for the establishment of a $100,000,000 Forest Products Corporation to put idle sawmills to work. Some interested officials launched the idea last July, but the opposition of big lumber interests was strong. In November Jackson was called in. He dramatized the campaign with the help of Paul Rasmussen, who was formerly Floyd Olson's budget director and who now represents independent lumber owners in Minnesota. Rasmussen had come to the Agriculture Department to see if there were orders available for fabricating wood storage bins for farms. His group had had a contract for 2,000 but was unable to find the lumber in the yards of the Twin Cities. An engineer and woodsman was sent into the country; he found an abandoned lumber yard and mill and got farmers in the neighborhood to cut their timber. The idea of reviving these ghost mills offered a way not only to alleviate the lumber shortage but to increase farmer income. Jackson took Rasmussen around town to tell the story of this project and of the need for government funds to finance others like it. He ran into an obstacle in Ben Alexander, chief of the lumber and lumber-products branch of the War Production Board and president of the Masonite Corporation, which makes wall board. Alexander has big lumber holdings of his own on the coast and seemed to think there were too many lumber dealers already. A visit to one of Nelson's assistants and the announcement that Rasmussen would hold a press conference at the Mayflower and tell the whole story broke the log jam. Jackson was asked to postpone the press conference for twenty-four hours while Nelson himself had a chance to examine the facts. The WPB chairman agreed to the proposal, with some minor modifications, and the order establishing the corporation is now on the President's desk for signature. Obviously Jackson is a dangerous man.

THE OWI, with some of the ablest newspapermen in America working for it, has fought hard to be honest. Considering all its difficulties, it has succeeded to an

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amazing degree in telling the truth. Its long-awaited survey on war production in the Detroit area is a good example of dispassionate reporting in a situation where there was great pressure to indulge in ballyhoo. A sample is its treatment of Willow Run. "One of the spectacular plants that attract a lot of attention and discussion," the OWI reports, "is the Willow Run bomber plant built by the Ford Motor Company, thirty miles west of the city, which is beginning to produce giant bombers though still in relatively small volume. There have been many disappointments in connection with the Willow Run operation, and the plant, even now, is far from peak production." The report reveals the extraordinary labor turnover at Willow Run: "In November it hired 3,900 workers and lost 2,100." This is blamed on housing and transportation difficulties. When the full history of the war effort comes to be written, it will contain no more extraordinary chapter than Ford's insistence on placing Willow Run out "in the sticks" and at the same time successfully opposing the housing required for the necessary labor supply. It is hard to believe that an industrialist as able as Ford could have overlooked the crucial housing factor.

Credit for the report must also be given to the WPB officials who approved it before release. These certainly included Vice-Chairman Charles E. Wilson and probably also Chairman Donald M. Nelson. One of the items in the report which interested me most was the comparison of Detroit's war production with its civilian production. "The physical volume of this production," the report says, "is not as great as when passenger cars rolled off the assembly lines, but the value is as great." The report goes on to provide the first glimpse of war as compared with civilian prices. "A medium tank costs the government about $1.50 a pound —guns cost more— whereas a popular-priced automobile costs about 27 cents a pound." This comparison indicates that physical volume of war production must be far below civilian, and it is well to keep in mind that, except for the internecine warfare between Macy's and Gimbel's, battles are not won by dollar volume. Armament is, of course, more intricate than the automobile; it represents new production problems and requires more labor. But one reason for the increased labor cost is the waste and hoarding of man-power which come quickly to the attention of every visitor to Detroit. One wonders about some of these arms costs in view of the fact that while automobiles were built on machinery owned by the manufacturer, tanks, guns, and even jeeps are made largely on new machinery belonging to the government. Few prices are known, but those which come to light indicate that the cost accounting still takes little account of such intangibles as patriotism. The jeep, according to the war-stamp advertisements, costs about $1,000. Army officers to whom I have spoken think $400 would allow an ample profit.

THERE HAS BEEN a good deal of speculation here about the appearance of Sir Willmott Lewis, Washington correspondent of the London *Times*, as a witness for John O'Donnell of the New York *Daily News* in his successful $50,000 libel suit against J. David Stern, publisher of the Philadelphia *Record* and the *Courier-Post*. The suit took on the appearance of a political battle between Administration and anti-Administration elements. It arose over an editorial Stern wrote attacking O'Donnell as, among other things, a "Naziphile" because O'Donnell in April, 1941, printed a story declaring that American men-of-war were convoying lend-lease materials to England. The White House called the story "a deliberate lie." Lewis has long been regarded as a kind of unofficial British ambassador. Yet he came forward to help O'Donnell. The Stern newspapers supported aid to England after the war began; O'Donnell opposed it. Lewis testified that O'Donnell was anti-Administration rather than anti-British. This was magnanimous, but untrue. In the meantime the appeasement press, the three big papers in New York, Chicago, and Washington which seem anxious to play John the Baptist to an American fascism, are hailing the verdict against Stern as a great victory. These papers are also anti-British.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT marked the tenth anniversary of Hitler's accession to power by issuing a 510-page volume on National Socialism. Though the book contains little that is new about Hitler or Hitlerism, it tells us a good deal—by implication—about the department. Much of it might have been written by George Creel. The volume consists of two sections, a 350-page hodge-podge of documents and a 150-page "treatise" on National Socialism. The treatise sounds as though the four officials who wrote it were bored to death with their task and had no difficulty in maintaining a diplomatically correct objectivity. The treatise ends with what the authors seem to think is a clincher, a quotation from a Berlin short-wave broadcast asserting that "National Socialism is a matter of the racial German." The authors seem not only to expose but to adopt this not too novel thesis. Their discussion of Nazi ideology, program, and methods occupies but 62 pages and exhibits a chaste unawareness of economics. Nazism is presented as a German racial phenomenon. The department traces Hitlerism, as it once traced Kaiserism, back to Herder and Hegel. Bernhardi is here again and "Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844-1900), whose writings . . . glorified the blond Teuton beast." One sentence haunts me, "After the Nazis had gained power in Germany," the authors declare, "their spokesmen stated clearly that their program was not composed of temporary measures, as some German circles had been led to believe." I found myself turning back to that sentence and thinking of our own temporary expedients in French North Africa.

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Burma and Our Pacific Strategy

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

SINCE our naval victories in November, the fighting in the southern Pacific has been relatively unexciting. The United States has made its position in the Solomons reasonably secure and has had well-deserved but minor successes in New Guinea. Further nibbling by MacArthur is likely, but can hardly be of great importance since the forces at his disposal are small. A major naval offensive awaits new plane carriers. These should be completed within the next several months. With American effort centered on the defeat of Germany, it is improbable that an immediate large-scale attack will be planned in the Pacific.

With a deadlock in the islands, southeastern Asia has become the most important sector of the war in the Far East. Here continued air fighting, a Japanese drive into the southern part of Yunnan Province, and a British push into Burma indicate more important action ahead. The strategic background in this area has changed considerably since disaster in Burma rewarded a poorly managed Allied defense in May, 1942. Save in the air, China is weaker than a year ago, the trickle of supplies formerly reaching it by the Burma road having dwindled to occasional drops brought in by plane. In response to the situation, Japan has transferred numerous divisions to Manchoukuo, but it still has not decided that the moment is propitious to attack the Soviet Union. Its strength in the air has passed the high-water mark; both its planes and its pilots seem to be definitely inferior to those of a year ago and are less numerous. The Bay of Bengal, in which Japanese sea power once scored startling triumphs, is now empty of naval vessels and has become a kind of watery no man's land. In India Wavell has been enormously strengthened, especially with mechanized troops and planes.

The operations in Yunnan and Burma cannot be counted major campaigns but are rather in the nature of preliminary moves. Japan's aim seems to be to reduce still further the supplies reaching China by taking Kunming and other stopping-points along the line of air transport. The initial failure of its attempt can be credited in part to the stubborn Chinese resistance and the mountainous terrain, but more to General Clare Chennault's American air force, which demolished enemy bases of supply. The performance of this unit, operating against an able opponent and under unusual conditions, has been one of the most brilliant feats of the war. Despite reverses, the Japanese have apparently not abandoned their project.

The tremendous difficulties faced by a British campaign in Burma can be summed up in two words—topography and transportation. Burma is separated from India by some of the most rugged mountains to be found in any tropical country on the globe, and the movement of men and weapons would encounter greater natural obstacles there than in any of the areas so far penetrated, save possibly New Guinea. These difficulties might be avoided by the use of sea and air transport, but a successful large-scale invasion by sea would either have to surprise the enemy or be made under the cover of naval and air supremacy, or meet both conditions. It would also require a great deal of shipping. The balance of air power is inclining heavily in our favor, but the availability of enough ships is more doubtful, even though the haul is relatively short. Man-power should present no problem, since Wavell, at least on paper, has over a million men at his disposal. The vitally important question of whether the British armies and such American and Chinese units as might be used have the tactical skill and leadership to meet the experienced jungle fighters of Japan on even terms can be answered only in combat. Reports indicate that Wavell is fully conscious of this problem and is pushing the attack on Akyab partly to develop improved transportation methods and tactics in difficult country.

The recapture of Burma offers many advantages. Bases would be made available for direct attacks on Thailand and Malaya. Regaining the Burmese oil reserves would be a definite benefit to the United Nations, though their loss would not greatly affect the Japanese as long as they hold the Dutch fields. The reopening of the Burma road would allow more supplies to be sent to China, which could again become an important factor in the war.

The advocates of a strong air war have been especially eager to retake Burma. They point to the indecisiveness of the present sea fighting in the Pacific and urge an air attack on Japan from continental bases. This suggested strategy deserves careful consideration. The difficulties of island-hopping as a means of defeating Japan are obvious. Is the method urged by the air-power school any more promising?

A glance at a map of Asia and a little sober calculation show us that heavy air attacks on Japan from continental bases is not now feasible and cannot be made easy. The Siberian bases glibly suggested by some enthusiasts are still pure fantasy. They will not be available until war breaks out between Japan and the Soviet Union

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or until the German threat is liquidated. We should, however, keep this eventuality in mind and be prepared to take immediate advantage of any developments in the northwestern Pacific.

The only other possible bases are the Chinese-held airfields to the south, which are also within bombing distance of Japan. The failure to use them is due simply to the difficulty of transporting men, planes, and supplies to them. The opening of the Burma road as a line of land transport would not entirely solve this problem in logistics, since the road was always an emergency route of limited carrying capacity.

These considerations do not prove that a campaign to smash Japan from the skies will not some day be worth trying, but they do indicate that it is no simple undertaking. If any lesson of the war has been firmly established by events it is that attacks on industrial objectives must be continuous and made in great force if they are to be effective. Winning and adequately supplying bases for such large-scale attack would first necessitate the defeat of Japanese land power not only in Burma but in Malaysia and Sumatra and conceivably in the Philippines as well, the wresting of air and sea control over the South China Sea from Japan, large-scale transportation of supplies by sea to convenient bases, and overwhelming superiority in bombardment aviation. When these conditions can be met, Japan will be well on the way to defeat irrespective of the possible effect of mass bombings.

A campaign in southeastern Asia must also be viewed in terms of the entire Pacific strategy of the United Nations. Up to the present that has been one of attrition rather than decisive action. Since our galling early defeats we have attempted to whittle down Japan's strength in the air and at sea while increasing our own. By our attacks and the enemy's fruitless efforts to recover lost ground we have inflicted severe losses—though not without risks and losses on our side, too. Although we have achieved considerable local success in both New Guinea and the Solomons it has now been six months since we opened the latter campaign. For some time we have not been forcing the Japanese to risk heavy losses in an attempt to beat off threatening attacks. Our war of attrition has become relatively passive, and we have already allowed the enemy too much time for strengthening his outposts and consolidating his gains.

It is useless to urge attacks when the military means of implementing them do not exist. But that is not the actual situation. We have in the Pacific at present the bulk of our navy, a nucleus of military strength, and superior air power. Perhaps this strength is not sufficient for an all-out attack, but certainly it is adequate for waging a more active campaign to wear down Japanese strength, and unless it is so used the task of decisively defeating Japan will steadily approach the impossible.

The Truth About the A. P.

I. GROWTH OF A NEWS TRUST

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

A PHILOSOPHER of the seventeenth century is reported to have said: "If a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." Substitute "news" for "ballads," and this apothegm is brought right up to date, as men in all parts of Europe today have learned the hard way. Listening to the whisperings of forbidden radios, desperately seeking information not "made" by their conquerors, they know so well the connection between "news" and freedom that they risk their lives daily to snatch it from the air and pass it on to their fellows. We in America can barely imagine either their plight or their passion. For constantly exposed to news in huge volume and variety, we take it for granted much as we take the air we breathe, accepting far too readily the guaranties of purity offered by its purveyors.

News is the oxygen of democratic society, and our form of government cannot long endure if the supply is impeded or allowed to suffer contamination. If any group, by force or fraud, obtains the right to dictate our news, that group will soon dictate our laws. And the danger is nearer than most people realize, for, to paraphrase a famous parliamentary protest to Charles I, the concentration of control over the news has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.

The main instrument of that concentration is the Associated Press, the news agency with tentacles reaching around the world which for some fifty years has operated to restrict the flow of new blood into the newspaper business. Now this organization has been charged, in a complaint filed by the Department of Justice, with "combination and conspiracy in restraint of trade and commerce in news, information, and intelligence among the several states." More particularly, it is asserted, the A. P. supplies news only to its members and maintains insuperable barriers against applicants who compete with newspapers already within its fold; further, by virtue of exclusive contracts with its members for furnishing local

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news, it unfairly handicaps other agencies. It will become clear in the course of these articles that the department has understated rather than overstated the case against the A. P.

The answer to the complaint filed by the defendant not only denies all charges but declares that they are "based upon a construction of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and the Clayton Act which violates the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States in that, if the judgment prayed for herein were granted, it would abridge the freedom of the press." In short, it adopts the stereotyped offensive-defensive of the publishing industry whenever it is asked to comply with a law it finds inconvenient. In a case arising out of the discharge of Morris Watson, an A. P. employee and member of the American Newspaper Guild, counsel for the A. P. asserted that the Wagner Act was invalid because it was "a direct and palpable" invasion of freedom of the press. But a majority of the Supreme Court, in a decision delivered by Justice Roberts, dismissed this argument as irrelevant and unsound. The same plea was also raised in vain by newspapers contesting the government demand for disclosure of ownership in connection with second-class mailing privileges.

American newspapers are quite rightly zealous protectors of the freedom of the press, but they have served as its guardians for so long that they have come to believe that the First Amendment is practically their private property. They forget that freedom of the press means properly *freedom for a press* and that it involves not merely the right of established newspapers to operate without a government license but the right of any member of the public to buy or hire a press and print any matter for which he is prepared to take responsibility. Constant vigilance may be necessary to insure that this right is not curtailed by government action, but we must be equally on guard against a more insidious danger—its restriction by means of private monopoly. And if the Department of Justice's complaint against the A. P. is well founded, that danger is already a reality.

THE A. P.'S WAR OF NERVES

A special "expediting court" of three judges with Judge Learned Hand presiding has been appointed to hear this anti-trust suit, and to their judgment the case might well have been left. The Associated Press and its publisher-owners have, however, shown themselves unwilling to abide by the judicial process, and they have been fighting the case in the newspapers and in Congress. I have on my desk a large red volume twelve by nine inches, weighing over four pounds. It is a sample of the propaganda which the Associated Press has been distributing and might be described as the report of a packed grand jury. Within its covers are facsimile reproductions of hundreds of editorials drawn from newspapers which, because of their membership in the A. P., have a material interest in the dismissal of the government's complaint.

Very little of this selected comment is devoted to any attempt to argue the merits of the complaint. Instead, we have that traditional corollary of a weak case—monotonous abuse of the plaintiff's attorney, Thurman Arnold, who must be remembering wryly the praise he received from many of the same papers when he attacked monopolistic practices of labor unions. In addition we have charges that the action is inspired by a political feud and allegations of a deep-laid New Deal plot to assassinate freedom of the press, together with flowery tributes to the beauty of the "cooperative" system evolved by the A. P. and hyperbolic claims for the purity of its motives and its methods.

In Congress, resolutions have been introduced by Representative Paul Shafer of Michigan and Representative Harness of Indiana asking for an investigation of "the circumstances preceding the filing" of the anti-trust suit. Another Congressman, W. Sterling Cole of New York, has called upon Attorney General Biddle to suspend prosecution of the case under a law providing for postponing anti-trust actions if they "would seriously interfere in the prosecution of the war." It is hard to see by what process of reasoning the A. P. case can be fitted into this category.

There might be something to be said for a Congressional investigation provided it included a thorough airing of the unprecedented propaganda campaign which is being carried on by interested parties. But Representatives Shafer and Harness have made it clear that their intention is to use such an inquiry to smear the Administration and to spread the myth, assiduously cultivated by A. P. newspapers, that the suit is solely designed to force the A. P. to reverse itself and open its ranks to Marshall Field's Chicago *Sun*. The truth is that denial of membership to the *Sun* figures in the suit only because Mr. Field is the first man for many years who has been willing and able to incur the financial risks of bucking monopoly by starting a morning newspaper in a big city dominated by an A. P. publication.

Representing as it does more than 1,200 newspapers, including almost all those in the morning field with more than 10,000 circulation, the A. P. can, of course, lobby very effectively. Most Congressmen appreciate publicity, and few can disregard entirely the influence of their home newspapers. Moreover, at least one Representative, Ellsworth of Oregon, and four Senators, Glass and Byrd of Virginia and Capper and Reed of Kansas, are owners or part-owners of newspapers enjoying the A. P. franchise.

What can be the purpose of this campaign of combined press propaganda and political pressure? Since the A. P. can hardly hope to sway the decision of the court, the only possible conclusion is that it fears a trial of the

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issues and is therefore attempting by means of a war of nerves to bully the Department of Justice into withdrawing the suit. A bitter and fateful day for American democracy will dawn if it succeeds, for it will mean that a combination of press lords has proved able to put itself above the law.

BLACKBALL AND BLACKLIST

The A. P. can trace its ancestry back to 1848, when six New York publishers made an agreement to pool telegraphic and foreign news, but it only assumed its present shape in 1893. According to Oliver Gramling, author of "A. P.—the Story of the News," which can be regarded as approved by the organization, the foundation of the Associated Press of Illinois in that year was the outcome of a revolt by Western publishers against a corrupt alliance between the Associated Press of New York and a commercial agency called the United Press (no relation of the present U. P.). There are widely different accounts extant of the ensuing struggle between the two groups, but we need not concern ourselves here with who double-crossed whom.

The Western group of publishers pictured themselves, and no doubt quite sincerely, as champions of free enterprise fighting an attempt to organize a press trust. One of their number, James E. Scripps of Detroit, stated the issue thus: "Shall the newsgathering business be permitted to fall into the hands of a syndicate of mercenary sharks . . . or shall the newspapers continue, as in the past, to cooperate in the collection of their own news and to enjoy the advantages of controlling the service and getting it at actual cost." Urged on by such eloquent speeches, the Westerners decided to raise a fighting fund and invade the enemy's territory. A period of intense competition followed, but in four years the alleged monopolists of the United Press had been put out of business by a bigger and better monopoly.

The A. P. of Illinois was organized as an exclusive club. It admitted only proprietors of a newspaper to membership and divided these into two classes, "A" and "B," with the former given the right to blackball any new candidate for membership operating in their territory. Every member, however, was required to execute a contract agreeing to supply local news exclusively to the corporation and to abide by the by-laws, of which the most significant was as follows:

> Article XI, Section 8. Sale or purchase of specials.—No member shall furnish or permit anyone to furnish its special or other news to, or shall receive news from, any person, firm, or corporation which shall have been declared by the Board of Directors to be antagonistic to the association, and no member shall furnish news to any person, firm, or corporation engaged in the business of collecting or transmitting news, except with the written consent of the Board of Directors.

Compliance with this article was enforced by the threat of suspension or expulsion of member papers, and their employees were subjected to blacklisting if they were found having any dealings with a competing agency. In 1898, however, the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* challenged this by-law by printing dispatches of the Laffan News Bureau, an organization which had been declared "antagonistic." It was duly suspended, but seeking legal redress, it finally obtained from the Supreme Court of Illinois an opinion declaring not only that the section of the by-laws of the A. P. of Illinois quoted above was null and void but that:

> The appellee corporation being engaged in a business upon which a public interest is engrafted, upon principles of justice it can make no distinction with respect to persons who wish to purchase information and news, for purposes of publication, which it was created to furnish. . . . Its obligation to serve the public is not one resting on contract, but grows out of the fact that it is in the discharge of a public duty, or of a private duty which has been so conducted that a public interest is attached thereto.

This decision, which, in effect, treated the A. P. as a public utility, destroyed its usefulness as a publishers' protective society and proved a shattering blow to its members. They agreed that it was "impracticable to conduct a press association on the basis indicated by the court, the exclusive character of the news being an essential element of its value and incentive to its collection." The upshot was a decision to fly from the cold legal climate of Illinois to the warmer airs of New York, where a charter was obtained under a law specifically providing for non-profit-making corporations. The new corporation undertook "to admit all members of the Illinois corporation with rights and privileges as nearly as practicable exactly the same as those they now enjoy." At the same time, however, it was felt necessary to rewrite the by-laws so as to forestall another legal challenge.

The distinction between the two classes of members was eliminated, and all were given "protest rights" against the admission of new members publishing within their sphere of influence. Unless the applicable protest rights were waived, a candidate had to secure the affirmative votes of four-fifths of the members of the A. P. at the annual meeting or special meeting. These barriers, the incorporators were legally advised, represented "the extreme limit to which an embodiment of the old veto power could be safely attempted." In practice they have proved impassable. As the complaint of the Department of Justice puts it:

> The purpose of the provisions relating to "protest rights"—to bar competitors of members from access to A. P. service—has been effectively achieved. . . . During the years 1900-28, inclusive, more than 100 applications for membership subject to outstanding "protest rights" were submitted to the vote of members. In only six in-

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stances was there the requisite affirmative four-fifths vote. Moreover, in each of these six instances the favorable vote was due to special circumstances.

Changes in the by-laws in 1928 did not materially alter this situation. A side-entrance to the A. P. was, however, left open. Memberships were recognized as a species of property which could be sold and assigned, and any newspaper owner could purchase one if it were available in his territory. On a number of occasions this has meant that newspapers have been sold and killed just for the sake of the A. P. franchise. Thus Munsey, the old paper butcher from Maine, paid $2,000,000 for the New York *Press* and its A. P. membership in order to merge it with the morning *Sun*, which had always been outside the fold. Later he obtained an A. P. franchise for the evening *Sun* by buying and slaughtering the *Globe*.

An A. P. franchise, therefore, apart from providing its holder with an exclusive news service, has a definite cash value. I have before me a "sales" letter from an A. P. divisional superintendent to the manager of a small-town newspaper. Urging the desirability of A. P. membership, this letter emphasizes that it is a capital asset and may be included as part of a newspaper's investment for income-tax purposes. But as the A. P. frequently points out, the assessment levied on each member in return for service is based strictly on actual cost. Hence the cumulative capital value of membership represents something for which nothing is paid. It is, in short, a monopoly value.

This fact is rather blatantly recognized in the amendment to the by-laws approved by the last membership meeting in April, 1942. If a "right of protest" is now exercised, only an affirmative vote of a majority of members is required, but, in addition, the applicant must pay "a sum equal to 10 per cent of the total amount of regular assessments" paid since 1900 by those existing members with whom he will compete, this sum to be distributed among the members in the applicant's field. On this basis, it is estimated, a New York morning franchise would cost nearly $1,500,000 and would thus provide a handsome unearned increment to established A. P. members, while placing a discouraging financial handicap on any newcomer.

The capital value of the A. P. franchise also serves as a convenient strait-jacket for obstreperous members. M. Koenigsberg, former manager of the International News Service, tells in his autobiography, "King News," how W. R. Hearst, in the course of one of his frequent rows with the A. P., considered bringing a civil anti-trust suit against it. His lawyers gave the opinion that the A. P. was a combination engaged in the illegal restraint of trade but added that victory in the courts would compel the Department of Justice to seek its dissolution. "Upon such advice," Mr. Koenigsberg says, "judgment was reached that the millions of dollars represented in the memberships owned by Hearst would be exposed to too great a hazard by the institution of any suit attacking the validity of Associated Press regulations."

KENT COOPER AND THE DRAGON

One of the A. P.'s trump cards in its struggle with the old United Press was the exclusive contract it secured with Reuters, the great British news agency, and for long after the flight from Illinois this alliance was regarded by the Board of Directors as an invaluable asset. Through Reuters the A. P. was linked with the Havas Agency of France, the Wolff Telegraph Bureau of Germany, and a score of national agencies tributary to these three, which, in association, ruled the news channels of the world. The A. P., despite its avowed hostility to commercial news trusts, bought exclusive rights to distribute Reuters' news reports in the United States and in return agreed that only Reuters should send A. P. news to foreign countries.

In his recently published book, "Barriers Down," Kent Cooper, present general manager of the A. P., pictures the American agency as a pure and forlorn maiden in the clutches of a sinister international dragon and himself as the valiant knight who for twenty years fought to effect a rescue. The foreign agencies, he asserts, were either subsidized by their governments or at least subject to strong official influences. The American news they distributed thus passed through a filter of un-American interests and was likely to emerge contaminated, while the foreign news they supplied to the A. P. was often tainted with foreign propaganda.

In declaring that this state of affairs was most unhealthy for the American press, Mr. Cooper is entirely correct. The fact that the A. P., while boasting of its purity and of the absolute integrity with which it handled the news, should have tied itself up with foreign agencies in this manner, in order to strengthen its domestic monopoly, was nothing short of a scandal. But his report of the battle to mend the situation is, to put it mildly, exceedingly disingenuous. Between the lines of his book the truth is revealed that his real opponents were not the foreign agencies but Melville Stone, general manager of the A. P. up to 1918 and afterward "counselor," and the Board of Directors. The compromising contracts could have been canceled at any time by a stroke of the pen. The directors, however, feared to take this course in the face of Mr. Stone's assertion, reported by Cooper: "When you get rid of those agencies, the expenses of the Associated Press for foreign news will double at least."

Apart from the question of expense, the directors were troubled by the prospect that the foreign agencies, once cast off, would link up with a competitive service or deal directly with individual newspapers, actions barred by their contracts with the A. P. Defending this position, Mr. Stone argued that it was a protection against foreign propaganda being fed to the American press, propa-

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ganda which, presumably, the A. P. itself was able to detect and abstract before retransmitting foreign-agency reports. But as Mr. Cooper says candidly:

> This bar, however, was not established through any altruistic motive of protecting American newspapers against any evil intentions of the agencies. It was established solely because if the foreign agencies served newspapers directly, the Associated Press could not compete with them on the same news.

Kent Cooper finally won his battle with the directors, partly, at least, by proving to them that the Scripps-Howard United Press, free from entangling alliances, was forging ahead of the A. P. in the field of foreign news. Convinced that the Reuters alliance was no longer an asset, the board gave its general manager a free hand. Gripping his sword, he closed in on the horrid monster whose blood he had sought so long, but, alas, it turned into a reluctant dragon and surrendered almost meekly, forcing our unfortunate hero to end his book on a note of anti-climax. Nevertheless, we have to congratulate him on putting up a very good case against monopoly in news, whether the brand be foreign or A. P.

[*In the second half of this article, to appear in the next issue, Mr. Hutchison will tell the story of the A. P.'s effort to secure legal sanction for the concept of "property in news." He will also explain the mechanics of its stranglehold on domestic coverage in the morning-newspaper field.*]

Woollcott and Fourier

BY EDMUND WILSON

ALEXANDER WOOLLCOTT is dead; and the hostile obituary in the New York *Herald Tribune*, which dwelt on his disagreeable traits, has prompted me to try to pay some tribute to his more attractive ones.

I knew Woollcott only slightly, but my relations with him were based on an aspect of him which may not have been very well known. He was born at the North American Phalanx near Red Bank, New Jersey, and I was born at Red Bank. The North American Phalanx was one of the longest-lived of the socialist communities that flourished in the middle of the last century, and Woollcott's grandfather was for many years the head of it. My family knew all his family, and my grandfather, who was a doctor at Eatontown, brought Woollcott into the world.

When I first came to New York and met Woollcott, I did not connect him with the Woollcotts of Red Bank or the curious old Fourierist building, half barracks and half hotel, to which I had been taken to call as a child. At that time, when I had just started working in the office of *Vanity Fair*, to which he was a distinguished contributor, I saw his more erinaceous side. I provoked him to ferocity one day by asking him who the Father Duffy was to whom he was in the habit of referring as if he were the Apostle Paul. I had spent a year and a half in France during the war but had never happened to hear of Father Duffy; and I had not grasped the fact that Woollcott had created for himself a calendar of saints whose glory must not be questioned.

But one day at the Algonquin he asked me whether I was the son of Lawyer Wilson of Red Bank, and we talked about the Phalanx. He told me about a Fourierist uncle who had devoted himself to painting with so much single-mindedness and so little material success that he had finally had to go into bankruptcy. My father had extricated him from his troubles; and I presently discovered that a picture that hung in my mother's house—the old phalanstery building itself dimly looming behind the fresh green of the straight-stemmed New Jersey forest—had been painted by this uncle and was a memento of my father's relations with him. I had been struck, when Woollcott told me of this incident, by the evident admiration he felt for the completeness of his uncle's unworldliness: not only the number of pictures he had painted but the enormous sum of money he had failed for. I learned later that Woollcott had long been supporting the remaining members of his family.

From then on our relations were cordial. When a play of mine was done at the Provincetown Playhouse in the early nineteen twenties, Alec, then the dramatic critic of the *Times*, gave it a sympathetic notice but ended by explaining that his judgment might possibly have been somewhat softened by the fact that thirty-odd years before a certain kindly old country doctor had been called on a snowy night to attend Mrs. Woollcott of the Phalanx, etc. When he found out later on that the kindly old doctor had gone to Hamilton College, of which Alec was one of the most loyal alumni, my grandfather came to figure, from his connection with Alec's birth, as a species of Angel of the Annunciation; and I found myself involved in one of the sentimental myths on which he fed the unsatisfied affections that had for objects only his heroes, his friends, and the memories of his family.

This myth would occasionally crop up in his writings, and even after I ceased to see him, I would hear from him from time to time. One day I met him in the West

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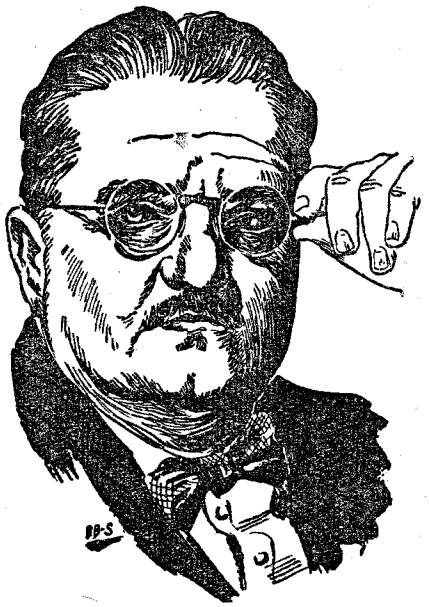

Drawing by B. Brussel-Smith
Alexander Woollcott

Forties somewhere between Fifth Avenue and Broadway. He was going very fast, but stopped a second and said brusquely, "I'm having a play produced!" I asked him what it was called. "The Crime in the Whistler Room," he snapped and passed on. "The Crime in the Whistler Room" had been the title of my play at the Provincetown. Later on, when I published a study of Kipling, he wrote me several long letters on the subject, about which he had some sober and shrewd ideas. I had also, however, been writing about Dickens and praising his gloomy later novels; and this elicited from Alec a sulky "I do not care to discuss Dickens with you." He did, nevertheless, indicate his preferences; and I could see him as a child in the phalanstery lying in the hammock on a summer day with "Pickwick" or "David Copperfield." His point of view was perfectly infantile. It turned out that he did not like "Bleak House" simply because it was the only one he had not read as a child.

In the meantime, however, in the years of the depression, I had had with him a curious interview. I had been traveling around the country doing articles on labor and economic conditions, and he wrote me that he had been reading these articles and said he would like to talk to me. I invited him to dinner with us, but he replied that he was a much older man than I and that I ought to come to him. So I called on him at Sutton Place, where he occupied a splendid apartment that looked out on the East River. As soon as I entered the room, he cried out, without any other greeting: "You've gotten very fat!" It was his way of disarming, I thought, any horror I might have felt at his own pudding-like rotundity, which had trebled since I had seen him last. He did not rise and was wearing a dressing-gown, so I inquired whether he had been ill. He answered shortly, no; and wanted to know whether I thought he was ill because he was wearing a dressing-gown. There were other guests, and they kept coming and going. Drinks were brought—by a butler: Woollcott never stirred from his chair; and there was a backgammon board, at which people were playing. A secretary in a room beyond was typing an article for him; and he would rap out from time to time peremptory orders to the butler, who was feeding a phonograph in a neighboring room with Gilbert and Sullivan records.

He made no attempt to talk to me, and I wondered why he had wanted to see me. At last there came a moment, however, when all the guests had gone and there was nobody but him and me. His demeanor changed entirely. He began to speak naturally and frankly: a note of uncertainty came into his voice, and a look of distressful anxiety tightened his brows above his spectacles. He asked me about the Communist movement in America. I told him a little, and he went on to talk about the North American Phalanx—on which he had been collecting material and about which he meant some day to write. He said that he had always known that labor was going to be the great force in the modern world; and he told me about the Labor Day rites at the Phalanx over which his grandfather had presided. He said that the kind of thing I had been doing was the kind of thing he should like to do: he should like to go around the country and see what was going on—he had friends in the West and the South whom it would be easy for him to visit; and the only thing that had prevented him from doing so was the fact that, reduced as his income was, he had difficulty in finding a chauffeur who could also do dictation and typing.

Then another batch of guests came in, and Woollcott resumed his role in the theatrical-journalistic New York world in which he was both a "personality" of print and a "star" in an eccentric part. I wasn't sure that anybody but me could recognize in his anagrams and croquet, his Dickens and Gilbert and Sullivan, his idealization of stage reputations like the Barrymores and Mrs. Fiske, and his general wide-eyed excitement of the semi-suburban Jerseyman over all that was going on in New York —could recognize in this the persistence of the atmosphere and the habits of an old-fashioned country life with which I was familiar from my childhood, but which seemed quite exotic, almost perverse, in the modern New York of the thirties.

When "The Man Who Came to Dinner" was done, I was rather depressed to hear that Woollcott was acting in the West the character drawn from himself. But when I saw the play in New York, I ceased to be troubled by this. Kaufman's comedy was stupid enough; and it was slightly offensive, like all his things, because it was an exploitation by an expert contriver of curtains and exploder of firecracker laughs of an idea that had better possibilities. But its very comic-supplement mechanics made it relatively innocent as far as Woollcott was concerned. Kaufman had put on the stage some of Woollcott's superficial idiosyncrasies without ever even attempting to do anything with his genuine personality. The bad side of "The Man Who Came to Dinner" was simply a combination of fiendishness and childishness, while the better side was simply a stage Santa Claus, as in the last

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act of a play with George Arliss. A portrayer of the actual Woollcott would have had to show how his arrogance and venom arose from the vulnerability of an excessively sensitive man rather badly favored by nature and afflicted by glandular disorders. When Woollcott addressed his friends as "repulsive," it was like his greeting me when I visited him by telling me how fat I was: he was afraid you were going to find him so. And a real portrait of Woollcott would have had to show the part played in his whole career by the Fourierist background of the Phalanx.

His interest in communism, so far as I know, did not have any practical upshot; but a certain queer moral authority which he exerted throughout his career was based on a reckless idealism that derived from the idealism that had bankrupted the Phalanx; and what made him seem impossible to editors, producers whose plays he reviewed, and the arrangers of radio programs, was not so much his fits of bad temper as a boldness and independence, learned in the same school, which made him contemptuous of other people's policies when they conflicted with his own judgment, and prevented him from hesitating a moment, when the issue demanded a choice, about throwing up any job, no matter how magnificently paid and no matter how fraught with prestige. The idea that "social betterment" and the "elevating" effects of the arts were the most important things in the world and causes to be served gratuitously was always alive in his mind; and one might be very far from sharing most of his enthusiasms and very much dislike his way of expressing them, and yet feel that his lights were not vulgar ones and that Woollcott had never betrayed them.

He had it, moreover, in common with the older American radicalism that, in the days of totalitarian states and commercial standardization, he did not hesitate to assert himself as a single unique human being: he was not afraid to be Alexander Woollcott; and even when Alexander Woollcott was horrid, this somehow commanded respect, and, in "The Man Who Came to Dinner," made him a kind of folk hero.

The Jews of Europe

IV. THE CASE FOR ZIONISM

BY PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

IT WAS to supply the elementary need of a homeless people for a home that the Balfour Declaration was issued on November 2, 1917, announcing that "His Majesty's government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." The purpose of this historic document, which was subsequently approved by fifty-two nations, including the United States, was understood and accepted by the parties most directly involved.

Winston Churchill stated the British intent when he said, "This pledge of a home of refuge, of an asylum, was not made to the Jews in Palestine but to the Jews outside Palestine, to that vast unhappy mass of scattered, persecuted, wandering Jews whose intense, unchanging, unconquerable desire has been for a National Home." Felix Frankfurter expressed the understanding of the Jews that "it was not merely a pledge to the fraction of the Jewish people who would actually settle in Palestine, but it was to be a national home for the Jewish people." The leader of the Arab delegation at the Peace Conference, Emir Feisal, also indorsed this objective. "Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through: we will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home."

On the basis of this promise and inspired by this hope, the Jews began their return to Palestine. The significance of their achievements can be seen in the changes wrought between the two world wars. In 1919 there were but 56,000 Jews in Palestine, chiefly elderly people dependent on charity from abroad. Only a small percentage worked the land, and the agricultural economy was so disorganized and inadequate that the population subsisted largely on food shipments from the west. Men still remember with horror the frantic mobs at the docks clamoring for something to eat as the occasional boats came in.

Today, reports the American Jewish Committee (not a Zionist organization) in "Jewish Post War Problems," "the only bright spot for Jews on the many war fronts is Palestine, with its sturdy Jewish population of nearly 600,000 souls. Jewish Palestine is today an outpost of democracy in the Near East and a great military potential for the United Nations in both men and matériel."

In the past twenty-five years more than half a million Jews have been settled in Palestine; more have been admitted there since the advent of Hitler than to all other

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countries of the world combined. This Jewish community is not only self-sustaining but is making substantial contributions of food, chemical, and industrial products to the armies of the United Nations in the Near East. Jewish "agricultural colonization in Palestine is the most remarkable devotion to land and reclamation of land that I have seen in any country of the New or Old World," wrote Dr. Walter Lowdermilk, assistant chief of the Soil Conservation Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, after ten weeks in the Jewish colonies.

The $500,000,000 which Jews have invested in the agriculture and industry of Palestine has resulted in the greatest proportionate increase of productivity that has occurred in any country in these decades of depression and instability. Whereas Jewish-owned land under wheat comprises only 6 per cent of the entire wheat area of Palestine, it produces 14 per cent of the country's wheat crop. Jewish land planted in barley is 4 per cent of the total barley acreage, but it has yielded 17 per cent of the country's total output. More than 2,000 Jewish industries and more than 5,000 handicraft establishments are now at work in Palestine supplying every basic human need. The new industries set up since the outbreak of the war manufacture glass containers, cardboard and paper, pharmaceuticals, crockery and household utensils, wool and cotton yarns, upper leathers for footwear, plate glass, plastics, heavy and fine chemicals, rubber hose and canvas, optical and scientific instruments, calcium carbide, steel and alloy steel, copper wire, bone buttons, and tire retreads. Sulphuric fertilizers are also being turned out. A useful rubber-regeneration plant has been built.

Under the impact of Jewish need, ingenuity, and capital, Palestine has become the most thriving country of the Near East. Its flourishing cities have had a phenomenal growth. Where only yesterday the sands shifted restlessly on the dunes north of Jaffa, there stands today an all-Jewish city of 200,000 souls—Tel Aviv with its brilliant culture, its youthful vigor, its gleaming new buildings. The rivers have been harnessed for electric power; cheap light and power are now available all over the land. Minerals extracted from the Dead Sea sustain mammoth chemical establishments, and the surrounding soil is being leached to renew its fertility. Busy fishing villages of European youth have sprung up on the inland lakes. A people who for centuries have known ships only as instruments of flight are now building and manning them.

Some of the perennial scourges of the East have been conquered. Professor I. J. Kligler, American-trained expert, recently reported:

> The contrast between malaria incidence among the troops stationed in Palestine during the last war, or among those stationed now in Syria, and that among the forces at present in Palestine is striking. Twenty years of malaria control have rendered Palestine the only country in this part of the world in which this infectious disease is of minor significance as a factor in troop morbidity.

Another major accomplishment reflects the underlying motive of the Zionist program, namely, to give Jews a normal life. To do this, it was necessary, according to the Zionist leaders, to change not only the political but the economic status of the Jewish people. That Jews must become farmers and manual laborers was an article of faith that revolutionized the economic habits of the European Jews who came to Palestine. Of the 104,000 agricultural and industrial workers listed in the census of 1937, 36,000 had been without definite occupation in the land of their origin, 8,000 had been merchants, and 17,000 had been students—the typical Jewish disproportion in Europe. Less than one-tenth of the 25,000 persons then engaged in agriculture in Palestine had worked the soil in Europe, and only 1,800 of the 13,000 workers in the building industry had done similar manual labor.

The results can be seen in new Jewish types—strong, self-respecting, unafraid. Psychologically and physically, they have much in common with the frontiersmen who cleared the wilderness and built the first settlements on the North American continent. The Palestinian Jews are the only Jewish community which under attack in this war has sunk its roots deeper into the earth, stood its ground resolutely, and demanded the right and the weapons to fight back blow for blow. It is not that they are heroes, but something in their attachment to their own soil gives them a quiet strength and courage denied to the harried, rootless Jews in Europe.

Most of the Jews who came to Palestine were determined not to reproduce there the inequitable economic order which had made life so insecure in Europe. Since they came to a backward, sparsely settled country, they were able to create new social institutions. They established a National Fund which purchased land not for private profit but in perpetuity for the Jewish people. Within the framework of capitalism Palestine developed the strongest free labor movement and the largest network of cooperatives and collectives in proportion to population to be found in any free country in the world. The General Federation of Jewish Labor (Histadruth) has 126,000 members, constituting with their families 40 per cent of the Jewish community of Palestine and dominating its political life. The federation's activities include the creation and direction of collective agricultural settlements, industrial and transport cooperatives, building guilds, educational institutions, cooperative finance institutions, maritime projects, health insurance, and unemployment relief. It has fought for and obtained work-

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ing conditions and wages incomparably better than are to be found anywhere else in the Near East. The collective colonies have been so successful that Sir Arthur Wauchope, former High Commissioner of Palestine, regards them as a pattern which the post-war world may well follow. He writes:

> We are all interested not only in the war but also in any social or economic changes that may take place after the war, especially those needed to bring about a more equal distribution of wealth. . . . If changes in our social or economic structure are to be discussed, then it is worth while to consider the one example of such a system where people actually do live on an equal economic basis. And this example is of a people who can be judged by their deeds rather than by their theories, and who have made a success of their life for more than a generation.

Since these people are heirs of a long tradition of culture, they cherish the arts too in this new life. The richest Hebraic culture known in centuries now flourishes in Palestine. There is no more beloved orchestra in the world than the Palestine Symphony; Toscanini, among others, has conducted it. The schools are modern and progressive, and they are crowned by the Hebrew University on Scopus, which is already one of the foremost institutions of higher learning in the world. There has been such a renewal and enhancement of historical religious forms that for many Judaism has become vital again.

These cultural and spiritual developments are already fructifying Jewish life in America. This is likely to be the primary relationship of American Jews to Palestine, for it is not expected that many from this country will settle there. The settlement in Palestine will strengthen, not weaken, their position here. To the extent that it solves the Jewish problem in Europe and relieves refugee pressure, it buttresses their security, for it was the echoes of Hitler's answer to the Jewish problem in Europe which more than any other factor threatened them here. Further, there is something so sympathetic to the free spirit of the West in this heroic effort of an ancient people to emancipate itself by its own labor and bravery that a new respect for Jews is born in all Americans who come in contact with it—the enthusiastic American soldiers recently stationed there among others.

What of the future? The answer depends on economic and political factors which are not unrelated. For in the final reckoning the absorptive capacity of Palestine will determine whether the Jews can live in peace with the Arabs. An overcrowded country with all elements fiercely competing for a meager livelihood holds no promise. But a land being redeemed from ancient ignorance and poverty to the fullest modern productivity offers real hope.

Since 1919 over 500,000 Jews have been absorbed in an area of 1,500,000 dunam (a dunam is one-fourth of an acre)—less than one-seventeenth of the total land of Palestine. The Arabs inhabit about 7,000,000 dunam out of a total of 27,000,000, leaving practically two-thirds of the country uncultivated. Since much of this is the kind of "wasteland" which the Jews redeemed by irrigation or drainage for their present settlements, there is no reason why a substantial portion of it could not be used for the colonization of European Jews. Through irrigation and intensive cultivation the amount of land required to support a Jewish family has been steadily reduced from 250 to 20 dunam. Without any displacement of the existing population, according to reliable experts, there is room in the hill country and the maritime plains for 750,000 new settlers.

But the part of Palestine which challenges the imagination is the Negev, or southern Palestine, which is nearly equal in size to the entire settled north. This large region is inhabited today by a handful of Bedouins who barely eke a living from its parched and neglected soil. An irrigation project which experts regard as feasible can make this land fertile. Dr. Lowdermilk has written:

> The Valley of the Jordan River offers a combination of natural features and a concentration of resources which set the stage for one of the greatest and most far-reaching reclamation projects of the earth. . . . After seeing the great conduits pouring water from the Colorado River into Southern California after crossing deserts and boring through mountains for 250 miles, such things on a smaller scale are also a possibility for Palestine. . . . The Holy Land can be reclaimed from the desolation of long neglect and wastage and can be made to provide farms, industry, and security for possibly five million refugees fleeing the persecutions and hatreds of Europe.

Dr. Bernard Joseph, chief legal adviser to the Jewish Agency for Palestine, believes that there is room for six million Jews. Whichever estimate is correct, it is clear that with a dynamic, imaginative program a large part of the surviving Jewish masses of Europe can find a home and a livelihood in Palestine. Their activities, it should be remembered, need not be entirely or mainly agricultural. Jewish Palestine can become the industrial and commercial center of the Near East. Jews have brought there the skills, trades, and industries of Europe. The future of Palestine should be conceived not in terms of the backward countries of the Levant but in the image of such small, progressive industrial and commercial countries as Belgium and Holland. The Jews are also experienced and skilful in trade. Situated at the crossroads of several civilizations and having access to two seas, the Mediterranean and the Red, the Jewish National Home might be developed into one of the great commercial centers of the world. It might find immense

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new markets for its merchandise in Russia, India, and the Middle East. The possibilities of modern agriculture, industry, and commerce are so great that there is no foreseeable limit to the absorptive capacity of Palestine. Millions of Jews can be settled in it without displacing a single Arab.

But even if some displacement of the Arabs were necessary, this would ultimately be justified in the face of the desperate Jewish need. For there is no Arab problem in the sense that there is a Jewish problem. Fifteen million Arabs inhabit a region nearly half the size of Europe. A recent Prime Minister of Iraq admitted:

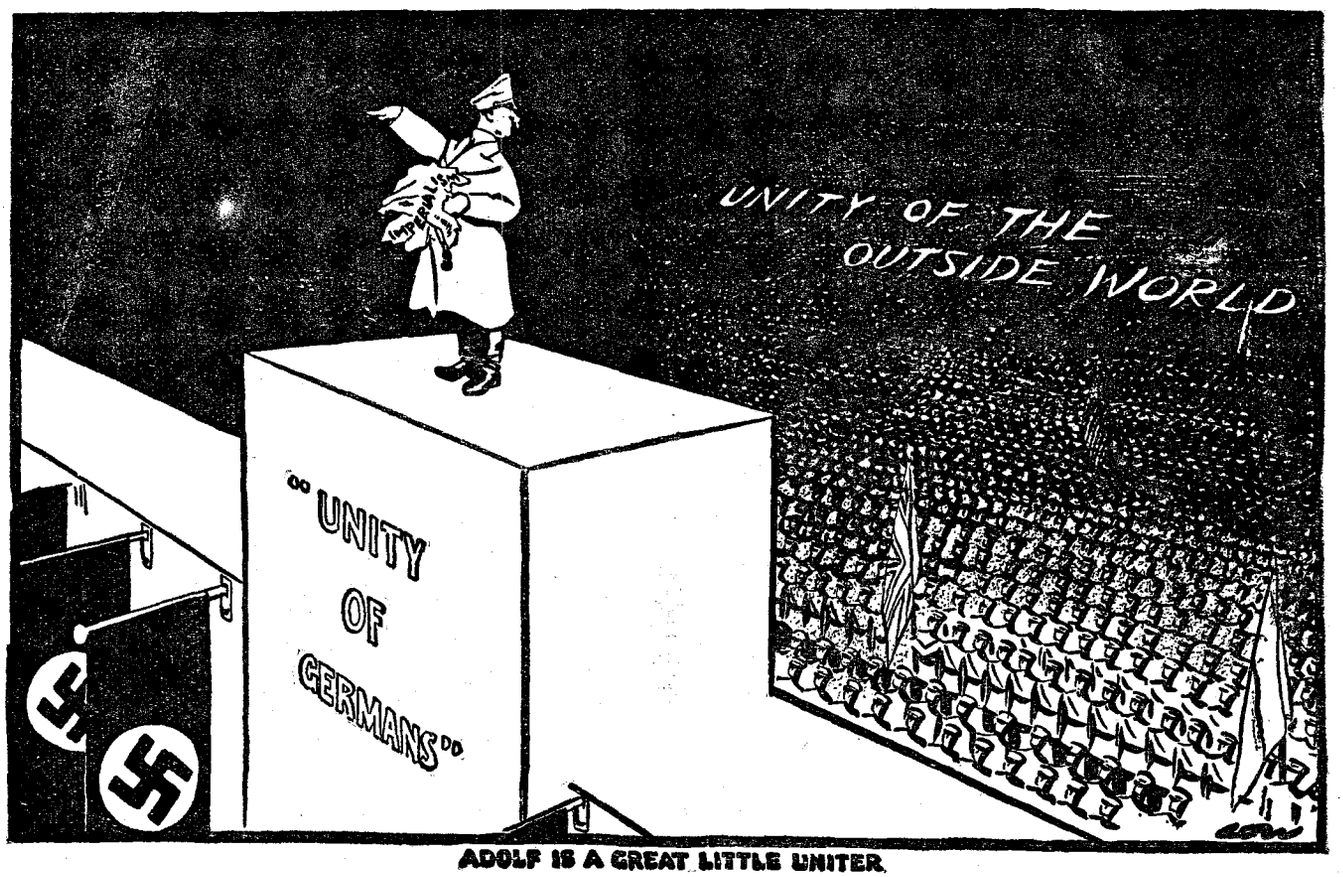
> The size of the country is 150,000 square miles, about three times that of England and Wales, while the population is only three million. . . . What Iraq wants above everything else is more population.

Actually, as all observers have agreed, the Arabs have benefited from Jewish immigration. The Royal Commission reported in 1937:

> Up till now the Arab cultivator has benefited . . . from the presence of Jews in the country. Wages have gone up, the standard of living has improved; work on roads and buildings has been plentiful. . . . The general beneficial effect of Jewish immigration on Arab welfare is illustrated by the fact that the increase in the Arab population is most marked in urban areas affected by Jewish development.

The Arabs, it was shown, have chosen to live in greatest numbers in the neighborhood of Jewish settlements; and the increase of the Arab population has closely paralleled the Jewish increase, not only through the lowered death rate but also because large numbers of non-Palestinian Arabs have seeped into the country to enjoy the highest standard of living in the Near East. It would be a calamity for the Arabs if the Jewish settlement in Palestine were to be liquidated, as is proved by the miserable state of the Arabs in Trans-Jordan, where Jews have not been permitted to settle. In fact, it is my conviction that the best hope for the emancipation of the Arabs lies in the example offered them by the Jews—the example of modern techniques in agriculture and industry, of education and public health, of cooperative enterprise and social progress.

The Arab opposition is political, not economic. It was fomented by the land-owning Effendis, who resented the intrusion of higher Western standards into their feudal economy. It was directed and financed by the Nazis and the Italian Fascists. The moment the war broke out and the British severed Arab connections with the Axis, the terror ceased completely. This is not to deny the existence of a genuine opposition on the part of some Arab elements. But since Palestine is so largely undeveloped and the Arab lands are so sparsely populated, and since for the Jews of Europe it is literally Palestine or death, the justice and the necessity of the Jewish National Home must be reaffirmed in spite of this opposition. If there is to be some equitable redistribution of the earth's resources after the war, shall not this apply also to the



ADOLF IS A GREAT LITTLE UNITER

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Jews? Shall the Arabs, whose lands are so extensive that they cannot completely settle them for generations, be permitted to deny homeless Jews the right to settle on a part of the smallest of them?

When the war ends, there should be in Palestine, as apparently there will be elsewhere, a period of transition before the final political settlement is determined. In this period large numbers of homeless Jews should be settled in Palestine. Wendell Willkie has stated the correct formula: "The extent of that immigration must be measured by the needs of the Jewish people." This mass migration will cause least stress if done quickly. The Arab problem took shape from the British colonial policy, which made Jewish immigration a slow incessant stream of irritants. Swift large-scale Jewish immigration after the last war, in accordance with the purpose of the Balfour Declaration, would have established immediately a strong Jewish community in Palestine and have shown the Arabs that the British meant to keep their promise to the Jews. In the interest of peace in Palestine, let not the same mistake be made again.

While this swift immigration is taking place, large-scale reclamation, irrigation, industrial, and building projects should be begun. Since these will be far beyond the means of private Jewish funds, they should have international financial support, perhaps on a lease-lend basis. It will prove more economical to invest in constructive self-liquidating projects in Palestine than to dole out relief to Jews in Europe.

The political forms that should follow this interim period will depend on the entire world settlement. After the necessary period of large-scale immigration and economic development, Palestine should be set up as a self-governing commonwealth in a world of free commonwealths, with full equality of rights—civil, economic, religious, and cultural—for all the inhabitants of the land. Great numbers of the surviving Jews of Europe, it is hoped, will thus be emancipated from their homelessness. They will, for the first time in nineteen centuries, be the molders, not the victims, of their destiny. In this one place they will at last have freed themselves from the insecure minority status under which they have suffered and will be able to develop normally as a free people among the free peoples of the earth. They can thus play their rightful part in the building of the free world of tomorrow and make their distinctive contribution to it.

If the United Nations determine that this shall be, it will be. Here is their opportunity to solve the world's most persistent problem and to enable a gifted people, once more on their ancient sacred soil, to enrich man's spiritual life.

[*This is the last of a series of four articles by Dr. Bernstein.*]

In the Wind

FRANCES SWEENEY, founder of Boston's original rumor clinic and editor of the Boston *City Reporter*, reports that the largest chain of newsstands in greater Boston has stopped handling the anti-Semitic *Catholic International* because it didn't sell. Its editorial policy is thus summed up on its cover: "No Quick-Culture, No Psychology, No Social-Gospel, No Free-Love, No Free-Thought, No Art-Appreciation, No Sophistication, No Vitamins, No Advertising. No Fawning upon Christ's Enemies."

GOLD is now listed by the War Production Board among "materials that are available in significant quantities as substitutes for scarcer materials."

WORKING ON THE RAILROAD: The Czecho-Slovak National Council of America reports that special detectives have been placed in all railroad stations in Bohemia and Moravia to spot travelers who may deliberately delay and hamper traffic. . . . In Norway, says the Norwegian Information Service, the sensitive Nazis have put Quisling guards on all trains to prevent Norwegians from leaving their seats when German or native Nazis sit beside them.

A ONE-MAN CRUSADE against price-ceiling violators is being conducted by G. C. Terry, an ex-sailor, of Hollywood. On the first day of the crusade he haled three egg dealers into court and won $50 from each. He now has scores of cases pending.

WELL, HARDLY ANYTHING: Last February the Nazi-controlled Radio Alpen broadcast the following military intelligence to Spain: "Very few of the Russian army are experienced soldiers. Others are reservists recently recruited with only very slight military training. Naturally, these untrained men cannot do anything against the well-trained, well-equipped German soldiers."

STUDENTS at the University of Michigan have organized a Man-Power Mobilization Corps, supplying student workers to farms, factories, and business firms. It is run without assistance from the faculty.

BOOK NOTES: Joe McWilliams, who ran for Congress with the support of the Christian Front in 1940, has written a book, "The Serviceman's Reconstruction Plan." It is being distributed by the Barrington Rand Press, Barrington, Illinois. . . . Subscriptions are now being solicited for "Hollywood Reds," a book to be written by Allan W. Wells. Advance circulars say it will give "a complete exposé of the Communist control of motion pictures made in Hollywood."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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The Führer-Makers

BY ALFRED KANTOROWICZ

IN THE elections to the German Reichstag of November 6, 1932, the Nazis suffered a remarkable defeat. In comparison with the last previous general elections they lost about two million votes, and instead of 230 deputies—two-fifths of the Reichstag—they returned only 197. A mere one-third of the German electorate had given them their vote. This setback was emphasized by even more decisive defeats at municipal and local elections in the following December. In Thuringia, for instance, the Nazi Party lost 40 per cent of the votes it had polled six months earlier; in Saxony and northern Germany it lost 50 per cent. Goebbels noted in his diary on December 6: "The situation in the Reich is disastrous."

The finances of the party were in a desperate condition. Under date of November 11 Goebbels wrote in his diary: "Received a report on the financial situation of the Berlin organization. It is hopeless. Nothing but debts and obligations, together with the complete impossibility of obtaining any reasonable sum of money after this defeat."

The great intriguer Franz von Papen yielded his post of Chancellor of the Reich to the great intriguer Kurt von Schleicher, a Reichswehr general. Schleicher planned to rely upon the Reichswehr on one side and the Democratic and Christian unions on the other, and to avoid open dictatorship. He succeeded in seducing the second man of the Nazi Party, its most brilliant organizer, Gregor Strasser, whose defection almost broke up the movement. "Deep depression throughout the organization," notes Goebbels on December 8. "In the evening the leader comes to us. It is difficult to be cheerful. We are all downcast, especially in view of the danger of the whole party's falling to pieces, and all our work in vain." On December 9, after a Reichstag session, he exclaims: "Wild excitement in the Reichstag. Everywhere rats flee from the sinking ship." And on Christmas Eve: "A sad Christmas. My heart is full of grief."

Then, on December 28, he makes a seemingly harmless entry which deserves close attention: "There is a chance of the leader having a discussion with von Papen in a few days' time. That would offer us a new opportunity." The expected conference took place in the first days of January, 1933, at the villa of Herr von Schroeder, a Cologne banker and representative of the big industrialists. It did indeed offer Hitler a new opportunity and thereby perhaps changed the course of history.

Von Papen, the gambler, wanted his revenge. Schleicher had intrigued against him when he was in power; now Papen turned the tables against the new chancellor, whose tendencies had become a little obscure to the all-powerful iron and steel magnates. Of course, the events that led to the final catastrophe were determined rather by general social and economic conditions than by personal animosities, but there is no doubt that intrigue played a big part in raising Hitler to power. One of the most reliable chroniclers of those days, the late Rudolf Olden, at that time foreign editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt,* wrote of that fateful meeting in the house of the Cologne banker: "Politics as the conflict of *Weltanschauungen* had dropped out of German public life. The battle was fought in the salons and antechambers between embittered gamblers. Everything turned on ambition, vanity, and personal advancement, not on principles or the good of the country."

Goebbels's diary contains the following under date of January 5: "The conference between the Leader and Herr von Papen has taken place at Cologne. It was meant to be secret, but through indiscretion news of it has got abroad. . . . The press is full of misrepresentations." Papen at once issued a vehement and categorical denial. But the two had been photographed together, and Schleicher laughingly passed the pictures around. He underestimated the strength of an alliance between Hitler, who still had a considerable mass following, and Papen, who had great influence with Hindenburg and was supported by the Rhenish industrialists.

Twelve days after the conference, on January 17, Goebbels wrote cynically: "The financial situation has improved all of a sudden." And added: "Now we must be prudent. There must be no mistake now, otherwise our great plan will again miscarry."

The "great plan" was helped to final success by another gigantic intrigue which paralleled the machinations of the iron magnates—the Osthilfe scandal. The Reich had granted subsidies running into hundreds of millions of marks to the great landowners of East Prussia, but the Junkers had spent the money not on the land but on luxuries and gambling. Many of the noblest Prussian families were involved, including the son of the President, Oskar von Hindenburg. The situation that developed is described by Olden as follows: "When Schleicher took over the plans of his predecessors [to settle peasants on the enormous estates of the Prussian Junkers] the agrarian magnates joined Papen and Oskar

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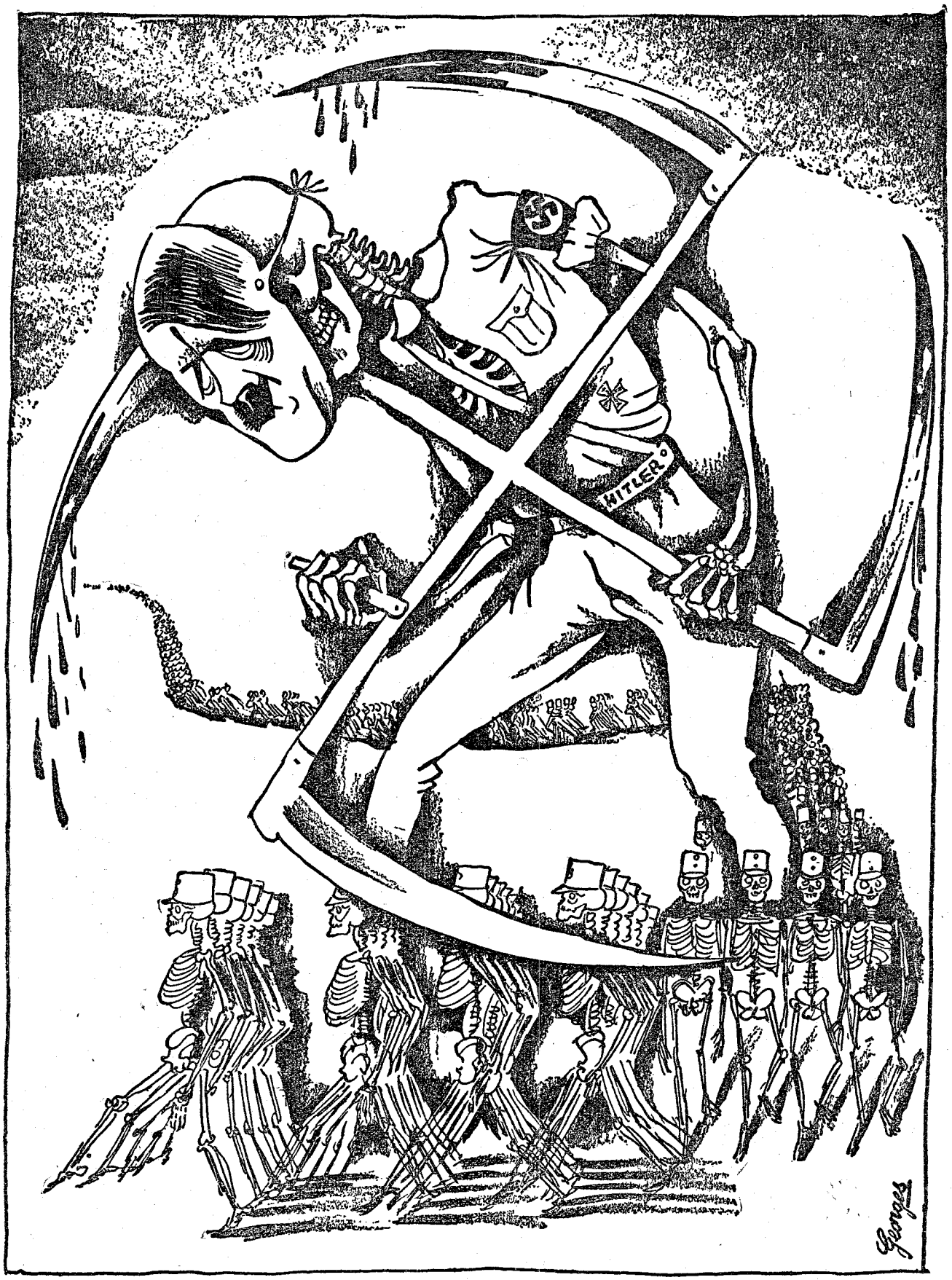

[*This cartoon by Georges Schreiber was published in* The Nation *on April 5, 1933, scarcely more than two months after Hitler had seized power in Germany. In the same issue the leading editorial carried the title The Nazis Against the World. Then as now* The Nation *saw in fascism and Hitlerism what the cartoon symbolizes—tyranny, devastation, and war. The world today is testimony to the accuracy of that vision and to the tragic failure of all the contradictory hopes with which the leaders of the democracies deluded themselves and their followers between 1933 and 1939*]

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von Hindenburg in opposing him. Schleicher then boldly threatened to expose the whole Osthilfe affair."

The alliance of the Junkers with the Rhenish industrialists sealed the fate of the Schleicher government. Advised by his favorite, Papen, and pressed by his son, who feared that his own and his father's connection with the scandal might become known, Hindenburg dismissed Schleicher and began negotiations with Hitler. On January 30, 1933, the corrupt Junker who happened to be President of the Reich made Hitler Chancellor.

Goebbels chronicles the events of those days. "January 27: Conference with the gentlemen of the Reichslandbund [modestly translated in Goebbels's book 'Farmers' Federation' but actually the Junkers]. All of them have taken their stand against Schleicher." "January 28: Herr von Papen has received instructions to approach cautiously the other parties with a view to exploring possibilities." "January 29: The great hour has struck." "January 30: It seems like a dream. The Wilhelmstrasse is ours!"

In two months the Nazis had been raised from near-ruin to supreme power. On December 8, 1932, Goebbels had written: "For hours the leader paces up and down the room in the hotel. Suddenly he stops and says, 'If the party falls to pieces, I shall shoot myself without more ado.' " Hitler and Goebbels have been reminding the German people of those days, laying stress on the fact that the Nazis have been in difficult situations before and come out triumphant. Even Hitler's threat to commit suicide has been quoted. Their purpose is perhaps not only to reassure the German people but to suggest that the Nazis might be ready to accept the services of a Papen in the international field. Will they find one?

Japan's Racial War

BY SELDEN C. MENEFEE

JAPAN is fighting a racial war. Race riots and other instances of race prejudice in the United States are highlighted in Japanese broadcasts to Asia and the Americas. Even before Pearl Harbor, Radio Tokyo campaigned for "Asia for the Asiatics" by narrating the story of the lynching of Cleo Wright at Sikeston, Missouri. Every scrap of evidence that the colored races of this country are subject to discrimination is grist to the Japanese propaganda mill. Our immigration laws are held up before the Chinese and Indians to prove our dishonesty in claiming to fight for a free world. The evacuation of West Coast Japanese Americans is frequently referred to—India has heard wild tales of Japanese Americans hacked to pieces by white mobs, their houses entered, and their women attacked.

A Manchurian broadcast beamed to Asia sums up the Japanese propaganda line: "Democracy as preached by the Anglo-Americans may be an ideal and noble system of life, but democracy as practiced by Anglo-Americans is stained with the bloody guilt of racial persecution and exploitation."

One aspect of Japan's racial war is the attempt to incite Negroes in this country against the government. It is estimated that agitation of this kind has affected in some degree at least 50,000 American Negroes. In Chicago three pro-Japanese Negro organizations were recently uncovered, and eighty of their members were arrested for draft evasion. In New York, in December, four leaders of the "Ethiopian Pacific movement" were convicted of sedition and conspiracy to commit sedition. The ringleader, Robert O. Jordan, was quoted as saying, "The war Japan is fighting is one of divine order, and Negroes should tie up with Japan."

There are several ways in which we can deal with Japan's racial propaganda. We can ignore it, which would be an easy way but a dangerous one. The racial problem will not solve itself. Or we can emphasize in our own propaganda the part the colored races are playing in the United Nations war effort. General MacArthur recently decorated three Southern Negroes for plunging through gasoline flames to save an injured pilot, and the fact might well be widely publicized. Or, thirdly, we can expose the intolerance and cruelty of the Japanese themselves. This is obvious enough in their attitude toward the Koreans and Chinese and in their treatment of their own *etas,* or untouchables. But propaganda of this kind leaves us vulnerable to counter-charges such as that made by the Japanese-operated Hsinking radio last summer: "The American propaganda machine has recently spread stories of Japanese mistreatment of Koreans. They should look at home first. Their Negroes do not enjoy the life of citizens."

The best propaganda anywhere and always is that of the deed; in this case, it would be to give greater equality of opportunity to Negroes. The President's prohibition of any discrimination based on race, creed, color, or national origin, which has been written into all war contracts, is one long step, and the work of the Committee on Fair Employment Practices is another. But many large defense plants still refuse to hire Negroes except for unskilled or custodial work because of union barriers, employer prejudices, or local tradition.

The admission of Negroes to the regular ranks of the navy, marines, air corps, and Waacs, and their admission to the army in numbers proportioned to the size of the Negro population are admirable moves. But Negroes are still segregated in the army, navy, and Waacs. In the marines they are accepted only as privates for the duration of the war. And they are excluded from the Waves.

We must have cleaner hands if we hope to convince the people of occupied Asia that they have something to gain by a United Nations victory.

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The Problem Remains

A week has elapsed since the Casablanca conference, and in that time everything that could be said for or against it has been said. It is not incomprehensible that the average democratic citizen should fail to take a stand on the issues of the conference, greeted as he has been by a barrage of contradictory interpretations, and that he should prefer to leave the resolution of those issues to the "higher wisdom" of his rulers. This section, however, cannot take refuge in caution. For us the Casablanca conference—however important and encouraging may have been the military decisions reached—was from the point of view of political warfare a failure. It was worse than that. Until the Casablanca meeting one could hope that the developments of the war would one day convince the Allied leaders of the need to coordinate their political strategy and wage this war as a People's War against fascism. Casablanca has reduced that hope to a miserable minimum. If there in North Africa, in the midst of the appalling mess produced by the lack of a democratic war policy, the arguments for a United Nations Political Council were ignored, how can we expect a change in the official attitude that led to the situation in North Africa and will lead to dozens of similar situations when the Allied armies move into Europe?

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IT HAS been noticed lately that an extremely dark picture of the war is being presented to the German people. About the Russian front especially the communiqués and even more the commentators seem to be telling the truth regardless of consequences. Of course they never fail to mention the certainty of ultimate victory, but they describe the situation as being temporarily both distressing and dangerous. For the first time the enemy is admitted to have had important successes. He has "superiority in numbers and material." And according to General Kurt Dittmar, speaking on January 18, "quantitatively," Germany "will be unable to attain even equality except locally."

Never before in this war have the Germans been addressed in such gloomy accents. Incidentally the official propagandists are making use of this seeming brutal frankness to improve their credit. "See how honest we are," they say. The star commentator, Hans Fritsche, underlined it on January 23:

> The enemy has always charged that we do not give a frank account of military operations. But the charge is undeserved. No communiqués are more trustworthy than ours. We do not play down the gravity of the conflict or the extent of the danger.

However, it is possible to lie by stating the facts, and we should not draw too far-reaching conclusions from this new "line" of the Nazis. Actually it is all part of a carefully planned campaign.

This is proved by the fact that every particularly gloomy report is followed by a stereotyped demand for extraordinary efforts on the home front. As one example the same speech of Herr Fritsche's may be cited:

> We can only imagine with what heroism the German soldier is giving his all to parry the latest Bolshevik blow. Those for whom this sacrifice is offered can well be proud. But their very pride creates the obligation to be worthy of the sacrifice. The German people, a part of whom have remained almost untouched by the war, must now mobilize all their strength and throw it into the balance. There still exists in Germany a great reserve of workers. Only when all hands, men and women, are doing vital war work, intelligently and according to plan, will the mobilization be complete. Out of the bitter struggle comes the challenge: "Stake everything!"

In short, the alarming military situation is being exploited to bring about a further, all-out "mobilization of labor reserves." "In many respects," Goebbels wrote in his weekly article of January 23, "we are living lives not suited to a time of war. Many businesses now being carried on profit nobody, or at least very few; they use up labor and materials but contribute nothing to the result we are striving for." It is apparently on the agenda to strangle all business using labor and materials for purely civilian purposes. The prospect is made clearer by Goebbels's demagogic illustrations.

> We all know [his article went on] that there are many shops in which practically nothing can be bought. They are worthless for the war effort. Let them go out of business and their employees transfer to more useful occupations. . . . I have been informed that the bars of the great cities offer no comfort to anyone. Scarcely anything to drink can be obtained in them. An aging pianist pounds a weary instrument. The patrons face each other in blank silence. . . . Why should this go on? Let the pianist provide recreation for the troops. Let the waiters get work in a war industry.

Evidently there is to be a new and bigger drive, first, to draw the rest of the women into production, and, second, to close all allegedly superfluous shops, firms, restaurants, etc. The recent "brutally frank" announcements about the situation at the front end invariably with the exhortation: now at last let us mobilize all labor reserves. The conclusion can be drawn that the tone of alarm is cultivated expressly to get the people to swallow the new regulations. That does not mean, however, that the situation is not really alarming.

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File and Remember

[*Each week on this page we shall print items, short and long, taken from the British press or, less frequently, from that of other countries.*]

"From Expediency to Forgery"

VARIOUS American newspapers carried a story on December 8 purporting to show that, contrary to reports, the French underground movement was not unanimous in condemning the Allied deal with Darlan. The story quoted *Franc-Tireur* as welcoming the arrival of Allied armies in North Africa and accepting the arrangement with Darlan as a strategical necessity. This indorsement from one of the boldest illegal papers in France was good propaganda for the policy adopted by the State Department and followed, however reluctantly, by Whitehall. But in the light of De Gaulle's open opposition, it was hard to credit. Now the facts have come out, and they throw a rather unpleasant light on this attempt to push an organ of the French underground into the Darlan camp. *Tribune* (London) has published an article entitled From Expediency to Forgery in which it accuses an unnamed "American diplomatic source" in London of planting a garbled version of the *Franc-Tireur* statement on the American correspondents. *Tribune* sums up the facts as follows:

It so happens that a copy of this underground journal is in our hands, and we say quite bluntly that the full text of the article quoted by the "American diplomatic source" bears no resemblance to the text handed here to American journalists. All the quotations are correct, of course, but in their context they convey the exact opposite of the sense given by the American spokesman.

Read these quotations from this sheet printed by the obscure but true men of France. They welcome the Allied move into North Africa. "But we forget nothing," they go on, and recount the infamies of Pétain and his men.

> "Today," they ask, "is a mere word, a bargain, or a mere smile to suffice the people of France to blot out this record? Oh, no, a thousand times no! . . . We shall not allow our victory—the victory of all free peoples—of all the glorious and obscure soldiers to be sullied. It will be, before and above all things, the victory of liberty, of world democracy, of anti-fascism, and of the Social Republic."

Here it is. It does not sound like three cheers for Papa Darlan. And there we have it. To sustain expediency its backers have to descend to political forgery.

Invade Europe Soon!

Last week I emphasized the increasing importance of establishing in the shortest possible time a second front in Europe. Since then many other British newspapers, including the *Times*, have returned to the same theme. . . .

The urgency of this strategic operation has been intensified by the unexpected delay in clearing the enemy out of North Africa and using the Tunisian sea bases as a springboard—to quote Mr. Churchill—for a direct assault on Italy or on some other part of the mainland of Europe.

The situation in North Africa has not improved in recent weeks. The Germans have been heavily reinforced in spite of the gallantry of British submarines; and it is evident that the weight of Allied armaments, on land and in the air, is not yet sufficient for the decisive blow. . . .

But whether the Axis countries are to be invaded by way of the Mediterranean, or by the shorter and far less vulnerable route of the English Channel, or—as one hopes—by both routes at the same time, Anglo-American armies must have obtained a firm foothold in Europe before the great Russian offensives have worn themselves out—above all, before the German armies have had time to recuperate. . . .

I confess my uneasiness when I hear so many once-cautious people now lightly proclaiming a clear-cut victory in 1943. What reasonable ground is there for expecting so early a German collapse? In the last war there was a great Allied army in Western Europe from the word go. With the exception of a stretch of the Belgian coast the enemy's only outlet to the western seas was from German ports. The Allies controlled the Mediterranean and all North Africa; and Italy, now one of our European targets, was fighting on our side. . . .

It is unwise, therefore, to ignore or gloss over the fact that whereas in the last war the Allies were never driven out of Europe, our greatest task in this war, in the fourth year, is to force our way back into Europe. For the Anglo-Americans the bloodiest battles will begin when that decisive phase occurs.—A. J. CUMMINGS in the *News Chronicle* (London).

Warning from the Balkans

Hitler and his Quislings are finding the Balkans growing hot under their feet. The recent anti-Nazi activity among the peoples of Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria, coupled with the continued success of the partisan armies in Yugoslavia, all point the same story. Millions of peasants are on the move. They have been oppressed and starved for generations. They are land-hungry. They see in the liberating armies of the United Nations the hope of destroying not only the Fascist invaders but their own brutal ruling classes. . . .

Because of these facts, the Darlan episode in North Africa has struck a heavy blow at the cause of freedom in the Balkans. There are plenty of would-be Darlans in these countries. Some like Eckhardt and Otto Hapsburg are busy in America trying to secure nomination as the Hungarian Darlan. In the Balkan countries now are plenty of men who would willingly throw over Hitler if they could be sure that the Allies would back them against their own people. That way lies disaster.

The Allies have got to choose whether in this war for freedom they are going to secure the support of millions of peasants and industrial workers or whether, like Hitler, they are going to attempt to rely on a few thousand landlords and capitalists. If they want the support of the Balkan peoples, they must change their propaganda. . . .—COUNT MICHAEL KAROLYI, President of the first Hungarian Republic, in *Reynolds' News* (London).

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

LITERATURE OF THE THIRD REICH

BY ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

"Soll es zu Tod, zu Leben sein:
O nimm uns, Führer, Wir sind dein."

A NAZI POET

THE Nazis began getting rid of their literary enemies the moment they came to power. In May, 1933, they publicly burned all the books which good Nazis are not supposed to read. This event is thus described in an official history of literature: "The fire of the pyres which flared up in German lands in May, 1933, is to us a sign and symbol of an inflexible will to purity. . . ." On June 7, 1933, there took place the first meeting of the purged Writers' Section of the Prussian Academy of Arts, of which Heinrich Mann had been president. It seems that Goebbels hoped that Stefan George would accept the presidency, but George declined. Unabashed, the Nazis appointed Hanns Johst, a much safer choice, and changed the name of the section to the "German Academy of Literature." Kulturminister Bernhard Rust was present at the inaugural session to congratulate the academy on its "inviolable independence and freedom of action."

A decree of September 22, 1933, set up the necessary machinery for the state control of literature. And not literature only. Literature, the press, radio, theater, music, painting, and the movies became the seven illiberal arts of Nazism. Each of the seven was incorporated in a division under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Enlightenment and Propaganda. The German writer had become a civil servant.

The servant did not lack a master. Goebbels reigned. As head of the ministry, the author of "Michael" had at last got the better of his professional rivals. Let them submit or flee. A board of censorship, handsomely named the Office for the Promotion of German Writing, was set up under the direction of Alfred Rosenberg, editor of the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte* and the *Völkischer Beobachter,* author of "Der Mythus des 20 Jahrhundert" and ex-czarist spy. A black list of books which might not be published, sold, bought, or lent was issued. Most of the names which Weimar had celebrated were on it, for no man, the New Order proclaimed, could be a good writer if he was the least bit liberal or if even his grandmother was Jewish.

Yet the Nazis did not abolish literature. Hitler and Goebbels are both frustrated artists; they do not wish to eliminate the arts but to canalize them along their own dirty, narrow, and sinuous channels. There are many novelists, poets, and dramatists in Germany today. I shall try to explain what they are like.

The older writers fall into two classes: those who keep their mouths shut except on indifferent subjects; and those who, since they have spent their lives attacking positivism, science, reason, or Marx and defending Kultur, race, heroism, or nationalism, now feel that they have come into their own and might as well collect the dividends. Among the former, Gerhart Hauptmann is the best known. He was for some time ignored by the Nazis—had he not been a radical? —but in 1937 Goebbels attended a performance of "Michael Kramer" at which the poet received an ovation: Hauptmann was part of the New Order. Some writers of the first class attack the Nazis under cover of apparently harmless historical narratives of distant times and places. Ernst Wiechert is one of these. Ernst Jünger, who originally belonged to the second class, has also used this trick. Among the orthodox members of this class are Ernst Bertram, an Aryan member of the George circle who writes about Norns and explains that our conception of free speech is outmoded; Rudolph G. Binding (1867-1938), who defended the Nazi revolution against Romain Rolland's indictment in 1933; Ina Seidel and Agnes Miegel, both elected to the Nazi academy; and, above all, Erwin Guido Kolbenheyer, whom the literary magazines make more of than any other living author. Kolbenheyer is not a great artist, but he writes for the "highbrow" and without prompting from the Nazi Party worked out for himself—before 1933—a philosophy of race and Kultur. The Nazis are doubtless amazed at such disinterestedness.

So much for the older generation. They patronize Nazism and are patronized by it. They are still somewhat pre-Nazi. The real Nazi tone is found chiefly in younger writers, though there is one older man who cannot be ignored. This is Hans Grimm, author of "Volk ohne Raum" (1926), a best-selling novel which sentimentally champions German imperialism in Africa. Grimm had lived in England without liking it: "The Germans," he says in his novel, "must be the allies of every nation that chooses freedom and defies England." This vulgar book is treated as serious literature.

Of the host of younger writers none, I believe, is of much merit. Their work frequently exemplifies the theories of Walther Darré, whose motto *Blut und Boden* led to a school of writers known, apparently in all seriousness, as *Blubo.* Those who emphasize *Boden*—Josef Ponten is a name for those who want one—write sentimental bucolics with the correct anti-rationalist attitudes. Germany is divided into regions, and the critics tell you just who celebrates each *Heimat:* Bavaria has its Billinger, East Prussia its Menzel, and the like. Literature is thus tied to the half-quaint, half-crazy Nazi theories of what will probably soon be called meta-geography. The literary histories link meta-geography with meta-ethnology. The Nordic race is subdivided into a number of *Stämme,* of which the Germans are one. A standard history is "Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme."

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The writers who emphasize *Blut* are not so harmless as the Cook's-tour rhymesters of the soil. They celebrate joy of battle; they recall the tribal dawn of the Teutonic race; they appeal to the *Volk;* they praise the Führer. The most famous of these poets is the leader of the Hitler Youth, Baldur von Schirach. Here is one of his poems:

Ihr sollt brennen!
Nicht wie Asketen
die in Gebeten
sich bekennen,

nein! Wie Soldaten
die tief in Gräben
Gebete leben
durch ihre Taten!

(You should be on fire! Not like ascetics who confess their sins in prayers, no! Like soldiers who, deep in trenches live prayers through their deeds.)

A whole volume of poems in praise of Hitler has been published. It is edited by a Nazi named Bühner, and among the contributors are several writers known before 1933, such as Agnes Miegel and the inevitable Kolbenheyer. Here are some extracts:

Er war die Antwort, wenn der Zweifel kam
Mit seinen hundert klugen, feigen Fragen;
Er war der Antrieb, der, was matt und lahm,
Stets wieder vorwärts riss zu neuem Wagen. . . .

(He was the answer when doubt came with its hundred clever, cowardly questions. He was the power which always rushed forward to new daring, whatever was tired and lame. . . .)

Die Augen leuchten bergseetief und klar.
Es strömt aus ihnen unsagbare Güte.
Es droht in ihnen Schicksal und Gefahr,
Das eine Kraft die andre stumm behüte.

Die schmale Hand, die Kinder zärtlich hält . . .

(The eyes gleam clear and deep as a mountain pool. Ineffable geniality streams from them. Danger and destiny threaten in them, so that one power may keep the other quiet. The small hand which tenderly holds children . . .)

The pseudo-saga literature of Hans Friedrich Blunck, first president of the Reichsschrifttums Kammer, and Will Vesper, editor of *Die neue Literatur,* is not on a much higher level. Nor are the dramas of President Hanns Johst. The latter's play about Tom Paine is chiefly interesting because of the extraordinary message Johst contrives to extract from Paine's life—that the individual is to be sacrificed to national greatness. Another play, which Johst published in 1933, is a brutal account of the occupation of the Ruhr. Johst is a philistine, and one of several to whom the aphorism is attributed: "When I hear the word 'culture' I reach for my revolver."

Since the outbreak of war in 1939 German writers have been, in F. C. Weiskopf's phrase, either sergeants or sleepwalkers. Dream novels, fantasies, and the like have been written by Max Kommerell, Ina Seidel, Waldemar Bonsels, Gerhart Pohl, Werner Bergengrün, and others, as well as by Ernst Jünger, and these books have sold well. The sergeants include the old Nazi hacks—Johst, for instance, published a volume of poems on the Polish campaign—and a number of younger zealots. What they are zealous about is chiefly war and victory, but the Nazi emphasis upon death and its gruesome splendor is now replacing the anti-plutocratic pseudo-socialism of "blood against gold." A "Songbook for Our Soldiers" opens with the lines:

Auf der Trommel liegt mein Herz,
Tambour schlage drein,
Morgen geht es todeswärts. . . .

(My heart rests on the drum, drummer keep on beating, tomorrow we move toward death. . . .)

Poetry, the Nazis know, is a weapon. Volumes have been published about each phase of the war—Norway, France, Britain, and the rest. About Russia, H. F. Blunck writes:

The eastern clouds burn red over Russian plains,
Where crows cry mournfully and somewhere death
Stands quietly awaiting you. . . .

The official Nazi publishers (Franz Eher Verlag) put out cheap editions for the troops. A special military functionary called Bibliotheks-Feldwebel makes it his business to provide the soldiers with "suitable" reading matter. One cannot know whether these methods are successful. The only concrete result I have heard of is that when one German soldier picked up a broadsheet on the Russian front he promptly gave himself up to the Russians, among whom he met the author of the poem which converted him—Erich Weinert, the German Communist. But so far this example is unrepresentative.

Yet there is abundant evidence that Nazi literature is not popular; the public's preference for escapist mediocrity is proof in itself. Even Goebbels can see that the quality of his writers is not high, and only a month or two ago he was berating them for not playing an adequate role in the New Order. He said they had ample opportunities. And indeed in what other country does the chief executive give an annual speech wholly devoted to culture? For lack of new Nazi writers the party was obliged to hunt through the histories for proto-Nazis. Books appeared with such titles as "Goethe's Mission in the Third Reich," "Schiller as Hitler's Buddy" (*Kampfgenosse*), "Heinrich von Kleist, Poet of the Folk," "Nietzsche and National Socialism." Probably every classic German writer except Heine has been exploited in this way.

Lists are issued of writers who are specially *volkhaft.* Once again the twentieth-century list is not impressive. The Nazis are not sure of their one great name—Stefan George, who as late as 1938 was applauded by one Nazi and condemned by another. They are on safer ground with Hans Carossa, Max Mell, Hans Franck, Friedrich Schnack, Hermann Stehr, Friedrich Griese, Wilhelm Schäfer, and Paul Ernst, but who, aside from specialists, has heard of these gentlemen? It is obviously better strategy to "interpret" Hölderlin, Kleist, Nietzsche, even Schiller, Goethe, and Lessing. And there is this much justification for Rohan D'O. Butler's "The Roots of National Socialism," the best of the books against German culture: Germany has produced more fascistic literary men than any other country—what other land could produce such queer creatures as Julius Langbehn or Möller van den Bruck? The list of proto-Nazis is therefore very long, and is stretched by the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte* to include Kierkegaard and Emerson.

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The histories have been, quite literally, rewritten. Hans Naumann's "Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart" is a classic example. Everything was altered in the 1933 edition. For example: the 1931 edition contains an appraisal of Thomas Mann consisting of some strictures followed by a eulogy. In 1933 the eulogy is omitted. In 1931 a sentence began, "And therefore Heinrich and Thomas Mann rendered a higher service. . . ." In 1933 Naumann deleted the words "Heinrich and Thomas Mann" and substituted "they," "they" being a number of other writers. He also changed the following comment on a poem by Fritz von Unruh to the version indicated in parentheses: "Ethically it stands in the service of pure humanity (in the service of the cosmopolitan revolution) as one of the earliest monuments of that revulsion from war which later became so general in our whole literature (in this literature)." The 1933 edition is dedicated to Our Leaders, Hitler and Stefan George.

Revaluation meant praising everything *volkhaft* and denouncing or ignoring every Jewish writer, every liberal, and every Communist. Literary criticism degenerates to this sort of thing:

> He [R. Göring] too seemed to me to have Jewish blood, for in his *Seeschlacht* he makes a sailor addressed as "you Jew" answer "you Christian." His speech melody too seemed to me Jewish.

Or this:

> Max Dauthendey's father was twice married, to a German and to a Jewess. The poet has been described as the son of the first and also as the son of the second. The birth certificate asked for has not been forthcoming.

Both these quotations are from a standard work, Adolf Bartels's "Geschichte der deutschen Literatur."

This reconsidered historiography is not a mere catalogue of authors in two columns, approved and forbidden. There are also ideas, absurd ideas, huge, ugly, sprawling, Germanic generalities. For instance, the whole of cultural history is interpreted as a struggle between the Germanic and the Western, categories that have been passed on by the Nazis to Aurel Kolnai, Lord Vansittart, Butler, and Peter Viereck. But the Nazis differ from these latter about the dominance of the Germanic in Germany. According to the Nazis, Germany has too often been dominated by foreign Western thought. One historian, Walter Linden, declares that this domination lasted about a thousand years (800-1800 A. D.) and that only now are the Germans coming out from under.

Every principle advanced in Franz Neumann's "Behemoth" is horribly confirmed by a study of the German literary scene. On the one hand, regimentation and a purely negative order; on the other, neurotic fantasy, either feeble or febrile, a terrifying chaos. Consider what happened to such literary periodicals as were not banned. *Euphorion* was one of the best. Before 1933 Nazi nonsense was only mentioned in its columns to be ridiculed. In 1933, however, it changed its name to *Dichtung und Volkstum,* announced that the *Volk* was the source of all value, and proceeded to devote more and more space to the meta-sciences. First the name of the magazine changes; next the names of editors and old contributors disappear; in 1938 only one editorial name is left out of half a dozen; in 1939 the magazine ceases publication. Comment is superfluous.

William James

IN COMMEMORATION OF WILLIAM JAMES: 1842-1942. Columbia University Press. $2.75.

WILLIAM JAMES is very much alive. It is not wholly because chronology forced us a year ago to celebrate the centenary of his birth that the tone of printed remarks about him has notably changed. Nor is it that *proprio motu* the critical mind has turned over a new leaf. It is the world which has changed its outward form since the late twenties, when even John Dewey could write that "an impassable chasm" separated him from James's epoch.

Superficially, of course, the chasm is always there. No one understands his own father or his own son, and there is some puzzle about making out the kind of creature one was ten years ago. But the only chasm worth discussing with reference to James is that which results from a difference of caliber between ourselves and him, and fortunately this difference has the double virtue of keeping him ever near and of yielding to the right kind of study. It is this sort of study which has become more frequent within the last five years, stimulated, no doubt, by Perry's great biography. Since then, a volume of selections, ably edited by Mrs. Aldrich, two volumes of commemorative essays, and a quantity of periodical articles mark the change of attitude I have noted. And in the offing is a reissue of James's most important philosophical essays in a three-volume set, with new introductions by his biographer.

The present collection of articles is remarkable for several reasons. It contains what is to my knowledge the first account of a European's conversion away from the Continental view of James. Arnold Metzger is this European, and his excellent article is a reinforcement, or even better a filling out, of Whitehead's formula about the Jamesian revolution in philosophy. When I say conversion, I do not imply that Mr. Metzger has become a disciple of the letter; there would be no virtue in it. I mean simply that the reading and study of James have turned him away from the monistic abstractions of German phenomenology and shown him a way around Kant.

The fact that Mr. Metzger restates with apparent gusto much of what James says about struggle, risk, and the open universe should give pause to those critics who see in this nothing but another encouragement to Mussolini and Hitler. For it is clear that the renewed interest in James, the closing up of the "chasm," have something to do with our world's being now so open that even philosophers fear to fall through it. Hence the attraction of one who was able to see chaos even when it was cloaked by convention, and to face it with courage and hope while rejecting the delusive aid of home-made certainty.

Two or three other papers in this series deserve longer mention than I can give them. Henry James's introductory remarks about his father have the same assurance blended with modesty that characterizes his previous editorial performances; and the anecdotes he tells are well worth adding to the collection—particularly Lowell's quick retort to the "hot-air" complaint about philosophy: "Philosophy is no good unless it is hot. James always made it hot."

Excepting his references to the genteel tradition, which is

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either a myth or a poor name for a reality, Professor Schneider's paper on James the Moralist is an admirable example of the manner in which "influence" should be treated in the history of a man's ideas. Influence is a fact, but its astrological meaning is sounder than its later scholarly meaning: a thinker rains down ideas upon another, but these only help something to grow that was there; they are not picked up by the later man like hailstones off the barren ground. Another historical point of great importance is that made by Professor Walker H. Hill in his lucid essay on James and Peirce. He shows beyond possibility of doubt the difference in the meanings the two friends attached to pragmatism, and he restores to James the priority of its use and elaboration as a test of truth.

Twelve other essays deal with James in his various avatars —psychologist, metaphysician, and social philosopher. Some consist mainly of reexposition, like Professor Brett's superb transfixing of one theme from the "Psychology." Others—of which Mr. Bixler's on The Moral Equivalent of War is perhaps the best—offer important doctrinal criticism. Two more, Horace Kallen's and John Dewey's, indicate obvious verbal traps into which would-be critics have fallen, shouting from the bottom of the pit that they had caught their man. Possibly as an example of this sort of error, an essay by Professor Donald C. Williams is included, though shorn of some of the arrogance and frivolity it wore at the Poughkeepsie meeting of the American Philosophical Association last year.

JACQUES BARZUN

The Poetry of Mark Van Doren

OUR LADY PEACE AND OTHER WAR POEMS. By Mark Van Doren. New Directions. $1.

AS THE bulk of Mark Van Doren's poetic product has steadily increased, it has proposed to the reader, in a form progressively acute, a rather special problem. The problem is similar to that proposed by the work of Hardy or Robinson. In all of these cases there is a large body of poetry which, taken in the large, seems to sink under its own weight when it is subjected to close scrutiny. If the reader turns the pages fast enough, there is the constant illusion of poetry, but if he lingers to inspect the individual page—unless he has happened to stumble on the right page—the illusion may vanish in a puff. The reader is like a skater on thin ice: as long as he is skating fast he is safe, but if he slackens his stride he hears the creaking and splitting of the ice which may drop him through at any moment into the very cold water. Or to change the figure, many of the poems by these writers are like hoops of painted paper. You can jump right through them and be none the worse. (If you try to jump through a real poem, you will probably crack your head in the process.) In other words, the total impression is rather poor.

But so to judge these poets (in contrast, on the one hand, to a poet like Whitman, Swinburne, or Sandburg, whose value lies primarily in the total impression, and on the other hand to a poet like the Blake of the short poems, Hopkins, or Eliot, who overtly stake their case on the solidity of the individual item) is to make the wrong approach and to do

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the poets considerable injustice. They offer their readers a special problem—though one special in matter of degree rather than of kind, for these distinctions are intended as provisional and not absolute: how can one tell the good poems from the bad? This is, of course, a constant problem of criticism, but it is complicated in these instances by the fact that, in so many ways, the good poems look so much like the bad poems, and that the large proportion of bad poems tends to swallow up the *relatively* small proportion of good poems.

But the reader knows that the achievement of a poet is not to be determined basically in terms of such ratios in a given body of work, for many poets do their thinking, as it were, on paper. He knows that, to some degree in the case of any poet and to a high degree in the type of poet now under discussion, he must isolate the particular items in which the poet's true achievement appears. He knows that the other poems, however interesting as exhibiting the matrix of the poet's achievement, the climate in which it matured, or an index to the elements involved in the achievement, are not to be taken as part of that achievement, and are certainly not to be allowed to prejudice the poet's final claim. But the problem of isolating the poems on which that claim is to be based is peculiarly difficult in the case of a poet such as Van Doren. There are several reasons for this. First, such a poet is traditional—in the more obvious and less philosophical sense of the word—and not revolutionary or experimental in either attitude or method. He may assimilate a great deal, as Van Doren has done, from the revolutionary and experimental forces of his time, but he tends to tone down and domesticate into his own context these recalcitrant elements rather than to exploit their inherent logic to its fullest extent, as does the revolutionary poet. When the revolutionary poet fails, his failure is usually more obvious than that of the traditional poet because he tends to succeed, or fail, in terms of the logic of his extreme premise; but the traditional poet, being less specialized, receives the benefit, even in his failures, of some support from the conventions in which he is working. That is, his bad poems look more like good poems than do those of the revolutionary poet, because they tend, superficially at least, to be more balanced and coherent. Second, when such a poet is, like Van Doren, a man of taste, intelligence, and broad literary experience, even the bad poems are saved from the distortions, gaucheries, sinkings, and eccentricities which may characterize the failures of writers of a more specialized bent—writers such as Whitman on the one hand or Eliot on the other. Where the failures of Whitman are characterized by puerility and sentimentality and those of Eliot by frigidity and eccentricity, the failures of the type of poet represented by Van Doren are characterized by insipidity. And it is more difficult, at first glance at least, to define the grounds of the failure of the insipid than to define the grounds of the failure of the sentimental or the eccentric. The poetry of Whitman or Eliot carries within itself a definition of the terms of the failure, when such failure occurs.

Even the reader who admires Van Doren's achievement, and the present reviewer is one, may be forced to admit, however reluctantly, that "Our Lady Peace and Other War Poems" exhibits the poet's characteristic defects rather than his characteristic virtues; that is, with one or two exceptions, such as perhaps the title piece or Pond in Wartime, the poems are insipid. You can jump through the paper on the hoop. The poems look like poems until you break the surface. They look like poems because the conventions in which the writer is working are intelligently maintained: argument is well proportioned; the rhythms are fluent, agreeable, and discreetly various; the imagery definitely communicates its ideas. But it may be said that the trouble is that one is forced to comment upon the poems in these terms, item by item, each item in isolation from the others. The argument is too easily isolated as argument; the rhythms too readily lull us, are too free from dramatic crux and emphasis; an image too readily and precisely concedes its "idea" at the appropriate point in the argument, as it were—the precision is simply a precision in terms of the immediate idea, with little reference beyond itself, illuminating the argument but not the poem. That is, there is rarely a threat that a seam in the convention is about to burst. It is as though the poems conformed too scrupulously to an abstract definition of poetry based on the conventions in which the writer is working.

By way of example, we may examine the following lines:

> Now that the land is warm
> For the due rain, the seed,
> But war birds, dropping sulphur,
> Drone, and the borders bleed.

Why does the poet say "war birds"? Why does he say "sulphur"? He means bombers and he means bombs, but apparently he feels that the realism would too much strain the convention assumed, a convention involving at the moment a kind of pastoral poeticality. (Birds fly over farm land in spring, but bombers are not associated with the scene; therefore the bombers become birds, which drop sulphur, which, in turn, makes the borders bleed.) But the original impulse to say "birds" in deference to the convention has involved the poet in a confused and illogical image, which will scarcely stand inspection as a whole. And why "borders"? The word has a faintly romantic and martial association derived from wars of long ago, but it is a very inaccurate word in the context: modern bombing isn't a matter of borders. In the passage the poet has, because of an instinct not to strain his convention, wound up with a kind of poetic diction which reminds one of the forester's tobacco pipe in Cowper:

> The short tube
> That fumes beneath his nose.

The same arbitrariness is sometimes found not only in the incidental imagery of a poem but in the basic image on which it is built, as in The Lacing and The Little Wars. Or it may be found in the handling of an idea, as in Armistice.

> Rumors of peace, rush otherwhere if policy
> Stinks in your breath, if someone's advantage blows
> Still so straight and so strong, so headed for somewhere . . .

This paraphrase of the idea, "Don't be taken in by a Nazi peace offensive," is expanded to eighteen lines. The poem is probably as good as it could possibly be, as a poem of mere commentary, as an occasional piece. The good occasional piece, like Milton's Late Massacre or Marvell's Cromwell, is good because it strikes below subject to theme, so that the

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subject, the occasion, comes to us in the function of symbol; when that doesn't occur, all that can be done to give the illusion of a poem is to "dress up" the subject, as subject, and this is bound to be an arbitrary business, the business of decorum within a convention. The present poem got its start as subject. It has a bad heredity, and all the genteel and cultivated environment which the poet provides doesn't compensate for its bad start in life.

This may be the trouble with most of the work in this book—as it has been with so much of the poetry of our present crisis. It is a poetry of subject, of commentary, poetry of intellectual immediacy. And when that is the case, all the poet can do is to dress up the job—like a landscape artist called in to drape the ivy over the fine, expensive brickwork of the suburban residence. ROBERT PENN WARREN

"Heroic Historian"

FRANCIS PARKMAN. By Mason Wade. The Viking Press. $4.50.

MR. WADE has felt some need for justifying a new life of Parkman, even one which for the first time treats him adequately. This "last" of the Boston Brahmans—as Mr. Wade will have it—is no sympathetic figure. Like many of the other formulators of the "genteel tradition," he was marked by his anti-democratic bias, lack of interest in the great events and popular movements of his time, and smug satisfaction with a circle and town which became less and less the country's hub.

Something, however, remains for the general reader: Parkman's fascinating youth. This fills the greater portion of Mr. Wade's biography. At the age of eighteen Parkman had already made up his mind to be a historian and knew exactly what he intended to write. He undertook the strenuous travels and studies which culminated, when he was twenty-three years old, in his famous trek over the Oregon trail. Parkman's voluminous journals give lucid pictures of the places he visited in Canada, upper New York, and elsewhere, the people he interviewed, his own not inconsiderable adventures—anything and everything that might shed light on a past America. As Mr. Wade says, Parkman brought a new pair of eyes to the national scene. At a time when American history was still being written with a Purpose, no one but Parkman held it in quite the same intimate regard.

The long entries in Parkman's journals relating to his Western trip make better reading than does the famous "Oregon Trail" (1849), which established Parkman with the reading public and which is still his most popular work. In his zeal to become a woodsman, an explorer, a traveler, and in short a historian who could tell vividly as well as correctly the story of the rise and fall of the French regime in America, Parkman destroyed his health. "The Oregon Trail" was written while he was beginning his lifelong struggle with what he termed The Enemy—blindness and neurosis. At this time Parkman had not yet reconciled himself to a life of dark rooms, combinations of illness which several times brought him to the verge of death, and personal tragedy; and in consequence his first book suffered in the writing.

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Mr. Wade thinks of Parkman as a "heroic historian." Considering the countless and rather well-known trials that he endured in order to write his many-volumed masterpiece, it is easy to accept this view of the man. If history were a more popular American study, Parkman's fortitude would doubtless attract more admiration than it generally does. As it is, we tend to find so utter a snob as Parkman poor company, particularly when he is miserable. The historian, despite unusual advantages, managed to miss almost everything that was significant in his lifetime, from Daniel Boone's grandsons (during his Western trip) to the woman's-rights movement, which he exorcised in a pamphlet. A passage in his journal tells why. His company had met some wagons, whose drivers hailed them:

> "Whar are ye from, Californy?" "No." "Santy Fee?" "No—the mountains." "What yer been doing thar? Tradin'?" "No." "Trappin'?" "No." "Huntin'?" "No." "Emigratin'?" "No." "What *have* you been doing, then, God damn ye?" (very loud, as we were by this time almost out of hearing).

Parkman unbent only to the American past. He could weigh the right and wrong of French, Indian, and English action so scrupulously as to call forth chidings from scholars who thought a note of uplift or moral indignation was never out of place. The result was a series of books which captured as truly as it was possible to capture the story of the Jesuits in North America, of La Salle, Frontenac, and the struggle for supremacy between the English and the French which reached its climax in "Montcalm and Wolfe."

His journals—it is somewhat remarkable that they have not been used before—form the base, and in fact the substance, of Mr. Wade's study. On his part, Mr. Wade sees Parkman steadily and whole; and he has gone over the ground covered by the historian's travels and career with such care that he is able to correct Parkman's own slips of the pen relating to far-off things. LOUIS FILLER

Dali's Autobiography

THE SECRET LIFE OF SALVADOR DALI. By Salvador Dali. Translated by Haakon M. Chevalier. Dial Press. $6.

MY MAIN impression of Dali's autobiography is that it is not the story of his life. He calls his book his "secret life" because he has created a substitute for his real life, from which he divorced himself on grounds of incompatibility. His secret life lacks reality. He has turned the whole world into himself in what is perhaps the greatest feat of willed obscurantism of the times. He begins and ends with himself. Nothing ever happens except what he calls his "pathological flashes." One reads his 400 pages vainly searching through reel after reel of falsification for some evidence of simple human truth. It is a work of supererogation, reading Dali, for if one can stomach his self-obfuscation one has also to swallow his attempts to bamboozle the reader.

Dali conceals his real life by covering it over with psychoanalytical labels in that strange modern form of exorcism. He is constantly setting himself up by means of such homeopathic terms as his "social fixation" or his "fetishistic verification." Writing of his childhood, he refers to "the neurotic program of my intense spring days." Or there is this kind of double-talk: "I have always had a precise consciousness of the advantage of my infirmities. In deficiencies, as a consequence of the laws of compensation, of disequilibrium, and of heterogeneity, there are created breaks out of which new hierarchies of the normal coefficients of elasticity are created." The fact that he needs to falsify himself is understandable, but his pride in doing it, the very objectivity he gains by speaking of himself as a case history, is disagreeable. And his manner of telling his stories is shocking. In the scene of his first long talk with Gala, for instance, at a time when he claims he was on the verge of insanity, he uses all the tricks of suspense found in a detective thriller. The long anecdotes of his erotic reveries—the prologues to the swelling act of his imperial theme—are not shocking. They are simply unreal. The details are exquisite, but nothing ever comes off. It's all very childish.

Although he enjoyed his intra-uterine life very much—it was good as long as it lasted—he longs to grow old. That longing is sincere. He remained infantile long after infancy, and he is still struggling to advance from adolescence to maturity. He is also sincere in the expression of his debt to his wife Gala, without whom he would have gone mad. Through her love she taught him a measure of reality and self-confidence. Now and then one catches a glimpse of the terror of his early life, of the fear and timidity, the loneliness and guilt, that all but consumed him. One wonders at the process of attrition by which he sophisticated all the life out of himself. He sought life in painting, and the real tragedy is that by making painting take the place of life his painting became lifeless. Even more than his autobiography, his paintings reveal his need of impersonal approbation to authenticate his life. His extreme preoccupation with the technique of painting and his love of texture and detail are his way of pinning down the world. He is naturally a realistic painter, but since modern painting has abandoned realism for something more like Dali's own imaginary life, Dali has had to prostitute his talents by surrealistic advertisement in order to insure an audience and gain the social assent he cannot do without. He painted his watches soft, but hard or soft, they still remain as realistic as a Big Ben. It is a curious fact that his pictures are often considered poetic, whereas Dali's intention is anything but poetic. That may be because their meaning is in the common domain—Dali himself speculates over their meaning—or it may be that their loneliness and desolation, as well as the feeling of destruction they convey, comfort and gratify. Then they become mirrors, and any exchange between spectator and picture is illusory.

There are good things in the book—descriptions of the Catalonian countryside, of Gala, and, in spite of the symbolism, a wonderful skating scene. But just as he has distorted his natural ability as a painter, so he has written of himself—in crapulous prose—as if he had never lived. The result, if not something still-born, is without emotion, and really without personality, *"sin bajar a la boca ni al corazón del hombre"*—to quote from Lorca's beautiful "Oda a Salvador Dali," which I recommend to those who would like a more sympathetic understanding of Dali than mine.

H. P. LAZARUS

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IN BRIEF

SOME ODES OF PINDAR. Translated by Richard Lattimore. New Directions. $1.

Mr. Laughlin's Poet of the Month series continues its eccentric, eclectic way; and here we have one of the loftier items, certain odes of Pindar, metrically translated by a member of the Bryn Mawr faculty. In Mr. Lattimore's rendering Pindar quotes Homer as saying that "a noble messenger brought highest honor to all things done," and the dignity, resonance, and firm tone of these translations will be doubly appreciated after the reader has looked at the gawky and tasteless introductory paragraph on the inside flap of the jacket. The Metrolite and Lydian typography in which the Overbrook Press has printed the book might be much worse, but Zeus the Thunderer has his work cut out for him if he thinks one mantic peal is going to stop Mr. Laughlin from being arty.

DANSE MACABRE. By Frans Masereel. Pantheon Books. $6.

This is the second war whose horrors Masereel has expressed pictorially. He does it even less well now than the first time. There are skeletons, cannon, explosions, masses of tortured people—the obvious made more so in black and white. Masereel's line has become thick, straight, and coarse, devoid of inflection, unable to note anything that does not leap up at a casual glance. Every pictorial idea is reduced to its most banal version. Any one drawing gives only too correct an indication of what all the others are like.

RECORDS

VICTOR has issued a recording of Sibelius's Symphony No. 7 performed by Golschmann with the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra (Set 922, $3.68), and one of Smetana's "Moldau" performed by Kindler with the National Symphony (Set 921, $2.63).

The Seventh is for me the best of Sibelius's symphonies. I say the best, not the greatest, because greatness, which some claim for his music, is a quality I find it lacks, and the Seventh is merely the best in the ways that Sibelius's good music is good — in the characteristic themes, patterns of thought, turns of phrase, uses of the orchestra that are attractive, catchy, effective, and that in this instance are produced with particular refinement of method. Part of the to-do about the Seventh has been made about its "gigantic" single-movement form; actually the weakness of the work is the lack of organic development and coherence in the progression in which the bits of substance are pieced together. Most of the piecing together is managed very skilfully; but there is no concealing the break at the point where the crescendo is introduced to build up to the last proclamation of the brass.

The new set offers a good performance of the work, recorded with the astoundingly lifelike fidelity to timbre and sharpness of definition, the spaciousness, warmth, and richness of the sound of the St. Louis Symphony's performance of Couperin's "La Sultane" on the record issued last summer. In that recording one heard an extraordinary balancing and placing of individual sounds in their orchestral space which one does not hear this time; and I suspect that this time it was Golschmann who simply did not achieve the balance in his performance of the more complex score of Sibelius. The recorded sound of Koussevitzky's 1930 performance with the B. B. C. Symphony is dim and drab; but twice when the proclamation of the brass that I mentioned earlier occurs—on the fourth and sixth sides in both sets—one can hear that in the Koussevitzky performance itself the line of the brass is kept continuous and clear above the flood of sound from the rest of the orchestra, as it is not in the Golschmann performance. And even though they are dimly and drably reproduced one can hear characteristic refinements of sonority, execution, and style in the Koussevitzky performance that are not in the Golschmann—for example in the chatter of strings and woodwinds immediately after the passage for brass on the fourth side. Koussevitzky's performance of this work happens to be one of his outstanding achievements; and now that the Boston Symphony has signed a new contract with Victor one hopes that his 1930 recording will be replaced by a new one, along with present-day recordings of Koussevitzky's other marvelous performances—of Prokofiev's "Classical Symphony," Debussy's "Nuages" and "Fêtes" and "Après-midi d'un faune," Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony, Ravel's "Daphnis et Chloë" Suite.

Kindler's performance of Smetana's beautiful work with the National Symphony is over-deliberate and over-emphatic, but is reproduced with the extraordinary fidelity, spaciousness, and richness of Victor's recently made orchestral recordings.

Among the letters in response to my recent article on records for military centers is one concerned with my suggestion that machinery be set up for the circulation of records among a number of such centers in one region. It comes from the Librarian of the Charleston, S. C., Free Library, who writes: "In the Charleston area are located units of every type of military service, and the problem of recreation for service men is acute. Service men are very appreciative of the opportunities that have been offered them to hear the better music. This Library held a series of recorded music concerts in November and December, 1942, and I enclose a newspaper picture of one of these"—a picture which shows officers and men of the army, navy, and army air corps, and two seamen of the British navy. For these concerts the library used its "small but much worn collection of records"; and it is now applying to Armed Forces Master Records, Inc., for a collection with which it can "circulate, through its regular circulation files, a succession of programs to the special service officers of military units in this region." I don't know why libraries did not occur to me before; but they obviously constitute the machinery for the purpose.

As for the question raised by Mr. Futterman's letter on page 215, I have found it difficult to think of any great symphonic or chamber music which does not involve the listener's mind and emotions in a way that may be too exciting for nervously tense aviation cadets. But it occurs to me that they might be relaxed by Mozart's delightful translation of the humor of "The Marriage of Figaro" into vocal line and orchestral commentary.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

"Suggested Merits . . .

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* of November 21 there was an article by Mr. Lionel Trilling with the caption: M., W., F. at 10. The article purported to be a review of the "Survey-History of English Literature" by William Bradley Otis and Morriss H. Needleman, first published in 1937. Many of our friends both at City College and elsewhere have spoken or written to us expressing their indignation over this unwarranted attack and offering to write a reply. We have, of course, no objection to honest and legitimate criticism, but we do object to wilful and malicious misrepresentation. This attack in *The Nation* is the first adverse criticism the book has had, with one exception, and that exception of unusual interest. Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, the Shakespearean scholar and editor of the *Shakespeare Association Bulletin,* said that the "Survey-History" is "a dangerous book because it is so well done." He thought that the student might be tempted to stop with the Survey, and not study the literature of which the book is an outline. We have on file scores of letters praising the "Survey-History." These letters come, many of them, from men well known in the field of English, scholars like Osgood of Princeton, Bushnell of Williams, Karl Young of Yale, Havens of Johns Hopkins, Chandler of Cincinnati, Scully Bradley of Pennsylvania, and Ogburn of Leland Stanford.

And now comes Mr. Lionel Trilling, several years after the book was published, and informs a deluded public that the book is "pornographic," is "pawky," "lacks taste," lacks "simple, intellectual decency," is "silly," "making a negation of common sense and meaning," and that the authors have thrust upon the student "every shabby, fusty, third-rate vulgarity of opinion that has ever attached itself to a work of English literature." These are strong words, and in view of the almost unanimous favorable opinion of the book expressed by others, the article in *The Nation* might possibly be interpreted as being actually libelous.

The book is simply a compendium of literary fact and opinion, many opinions, "shabby" opinions, "fusty" opinions, at times "vulgar" opinions perhaps, but nevertheless opinions that from time to time have had recognition and hence should be recorded in any compendium of fact and opinion dealing with these matters. Mr. Trilling rages at the "Survey-History" like an incompetent instructor who lacks both the knowledge and the skill to inspire his pupils to pick the best and not the worst from the encyclopedic offering. In his attempt to invalidate the "Suggested Merits and Defects" which we have added to the study of a few of the authors, Mr. Trilling goes through some highly complex and amusing contortions. The opinions recorded under "Suggested Merits and Defects" are not the opinions of the compilers of the "Survey-History" necessarily, but they are the opinions, often at variance, of course, of the admirers or detractors of this, that, or the other author. To castigate the "Survey-History," as Mr. Trilling does, on the ground that the book is subject to abuse, is no more reasonable than to blame the compilers of the telephone directory because crooks use it, or to blame the authors of a dictionary because some people are profane. Graduate students of English at Columbia say that the "Survey-History" has been recommended there for preparation for masters' and doctors' orals. Evidently Mr. Trilling had no part in such recommendation.

The atrocious bathroom pun with which Mr. Trilling brought his criticism to a close is a fair index of the tone of the article as a whole. The humor is simpy offensive as all humor is offensive that is based on the writer's overweening sense of superiority. Such sophomoric straining after wit is indicative of literary exhibitionism unworthy both of the author and of the periodical that prints it. WILLIAM BRADLEY OTIS

New York, January 15

P. S.: A detailed refutation of the article by Mr. Lionel Trilling is available gratis upon request from the publishers, Barnes and Noble, Inc., 105 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

. . . and Defects"

Dear Sirs: I am quite aware of the considerable praise the "Survey-History" has received; indeed, if it had not been praised, I wouldn't have been moved to write about it. For some years I have thought the "Survey-History" a remarkably bad book; it scarcely seemed to ask for critical notice until it acquired the reputation of being a good book. Then I thought that literate people ought to be told that it is a danger to the right study of literature.

Although Mr. Otis admits the inclusion in his book of shabby, fusty, and vulgar opinions, he justifies their inclusion by saying that these opinions have at some time had recognition. But what Mr. Otis does not explain is that all opinions are represented in his volume as equally valid opinions, and that some of the very shabbiest of them are clearly the opinions of Mr. Otis and Mr. Needleman themselves. For Mr. Otis to justify himself by putting upon the teacher the job of guiding students "to pick the best and not the worst" from his "encyclopedic offering" is surely a little as if a chef, in support of his reputation as a maker of plum-puddings, were to explain that in the interest of completeness he naturally included tacks as well as plums, depending on the waiters to warn the diners.

I think that I stated in my article the matter of principle on which Mr. Otis and I seem to disagree. But perhaps I should state it again. It is my conviction that the study of literature is serious and important. It requires intelligence, respect, and—need it be said?—the actual experience of literature itself. Mr. Otis's book defeats intelligence by offering inexperienced students a mess of ready-made opinions, and diminishes respect for the written word by implying that one opinion about literature is as good as another; perhaps worst of all, it treats literature as if it were a subject only for examinations.

As for my atrocious humor about Defoe's "no plumbing of the soul," Mr. Otis and Mr. Needleman had already put that pun on the table; I only buttered it. LIONEL TRILLING

New York, January 25

A Student Speaks Up

Dear Sirs: I am a recent graduate of an American university with my major in English Literature who wishes to report having made extensive use of the Otis and Needleman "Survey-History of English Literature" about which Lionel Trilling wrote so entertainingly in *The Nation* of November 21. We

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graduate students hated the book and were well aware of its defects, but were obliged to use it to get through the examinations with which we were faced. Professor Trilling says he is not trying to indict a profession when he suggests that this book fills a real need in our present educational picture; but he should have done so and I for one wish he had. I have heard noted scholars say much more foolish things than that Defoe had "no plumbing of the soul."

America, these days, is straining every muscle to help European lovers of freedom throw off the bondage of tyranny. It is a good time to do something about our own tyrants. The dictatorship of stupid facts in American higher education is one of the most ominous aspects of our present civilization.

LEE ELBERT HOLT

Schenectady, N. Y., December 15

Music as Therapy

Dear Sirs: In an issue or two ago your valued writer on music, Mr. Haggin, devoted practically a whole page to the activities of our organization, Armed Forces Master Records, Inc., in placing Master Record libraries in military posts. He expressed a wish that we had included more of a certain type of music.

We shall not go into a discussion of what constitutes an "ideal" basic library of 100 records, which is the size of the units we send to the larger posts. We are perfectly willing to permit any donor to make his own selection—in fact, we encourage this. We have gone over these lists and find an agreement on about 70 per cent of the repertory anyhow. Yesterday, however, came an exceptionally interesting letter from Chaplain Chase of Maxwell Field, Alabama, which raises a vital question: Are our records to be selected on the basis of an aesthetic principle or on one of therapy? We quote from his letter:

> I wonder if you or some other interested committee would consider helping us on this matter—an answer to this question: What kind of music would assist pilots, and aviation cadets similarly nervously tense, to relax? I believe that music can actually play a psychologically therapeutic role here, if we can select the right music. Can you suggest a dozen or fifteen titles? Beethoven's Fifth and Eighth for example, however marvelous, are *not* what we need. They leave one more keyed up and unresolvedly tense than before. So many of the longer major symphonies are but partially helpful in this direction. Music of exaltation is good, but perhaps not music of triumph in the bombastic sense. I should really very much value your help.

And we do ask *The Nation's* readers to give us their opinions. The library we sent to Maxwell Field was a donation of the National Orchestral Association of New York—Leon Barzin, Musical Director.

HARRY FUTTERMAN,
For the New York Committee of Armed Forces Master Records, Inc.

New York, January 20

Efficiency Ratings

Dear Sirs: To improve the federal service and the morale among federal employees, I would suggest the abolition of so-called efficiency ratings, as it only gives a chance to petty chiefs to kill more time, to vent personal grudges, and to play favorites, causing thereby many heartbreaks and nervous breakdowns. As most of the government work does not require any high degree of intelligence or unusual ability, and as the ability to perform one's duties has already been established by examination prior to appointment, there is no sense or purpose to efficiency ratings, which have nothing objective about them, but are merely the subjective expression of personal likes and dislikes, a mere childish juggling with arbitrary plus and minus signs.

But until this silly efficiency-rating system is abolished, safeguards should be established to prevent its evil effects by depriving the Board of Review of its power to lower the rating of the appellant, by giving the latter the right to appeal against unfair decisions, and by making it legally punishable for chiefs or heads of bureaus to concoct false testimony and underhandedly to influence the Board of Review against appellants.

OSIAS L. SCHWARTZ

Washington, D. C., January 20

Hindus and Moslems

Dear Sirs: In his review of Shridharani's book, "Warning to the West," Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr made the following comment in your issue of January 2 about the Hindu-Moslem relationship: "For the deep chasm between Hindu and Moslem is racial as well as cultural and religious."

Obviously there is tension between the Hindus and the Moslems today. But this tension has very little to do with racial, cultural, or religious differences. It is largely political. Whatever other differences there may be between the two groups, the racial is the least that separates them. More than 90 per cent of the Moslems of India today are converts from Hinduism. There are only

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a handful of Moslem families who can trace their ancestry to any place outside of India. For centuries there has been a free mixing and intermingling of the two groups since they first came into contact. As to the cultural differences, I think it should be noted that modern India is the product of the joint endeavors of both the Hindus and the Moslems. On everything—art, literature, music, philosophy, language, architecture, customs, and habits—both groups have left their indelible mark. Even in religion they have borrowed from one another freely.

I thought it necessary to comment upon this because the Hindu-Moslem differences are so often exaggerated and played up for partisan purposes.

ANUP SINGH, Research Director,
India League of America

New York, January 7

Wheels within Wheelers

Dear Sirs: An Associated Press story released on January 20 in connection with the Senate investigation of the rubber situation carried the following account of remarks made by Senator Wheeler.

Senator Wheeler said that he had read reports intimating that Russia was trading iron with Japan in exchange for rubber, while part of our rubber was going to Russia. "If we are allocating rubber to Russia and if, as is intimated, Russia is shipping this to Japan, the American public should know about it."

As a private citizen I should like to ask Senator Wheeler if he believes it's in keeping with his high office to spread a slur upon a good ally without seriously investigating these so-called reports.

I think in all fairness that Senator Wheeler should cite the source of his information and that he owes it to the American public, whom he is so concerned about, to give all details he can supporting his assertion, or at least admit his lack of responsibility in passing on rumors, which are so much psychological sabotage.

It is curious that Senator Wheeler should mention reports which nobody else has heard about, while overlooking the good job Russia has been doing.

If some of our legislators feel that they can publicize rumors tending toward disunity, unchallenged, they may continue to use their office to do so. In the vernacular, I say, "Let 'em either put up or shut up."

H. H. BURNSTINE

New York, January 22

Refugees Wanted

Dear Sirs: I read with a great amount of interest the recent *Nation* article by Kurt R. Grossmann, telling of the contributions made by refugees in the development of a number of small industries in this country.

It occurred to me that some refugees, with special talents and ideas for new products and manufacturing processes, would like to settle down in some small city, like Escanaba (population 15,000), and start life anew, thereby securing contentment and work for themselves and contributing to the economic and social betterment of the community. What prompts me to say this is that a certain Polish refugee, with thirty years of experience in potato processing in Europe, settled in British Columbia a couple of years ago, and with the aid of the Canadian government has done some remarkable work in aiding potato farmers of that province.

We have a diversified economy in our community—lumbering, paper manufacturing, veneer factories, and agriculture. Perhaps there are some refugees with experience and ideas for new enterprises in this field which could be launched with local encouragement.

Maybe the idea won't work in practice, but I should be pleased to hear from anyone who might be interested.

WM. J. DUCHAINE, Managing Editor,
Escanaba *Daily Press*

Escanaba, Mich., January 25

A Definite Assignment

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on your excellent article, What Next in Africa? in this week's *Nation,* and in general on your approach to the North African matter.

You refer in your article to another article you published in *The Nation* of December 26, The Men Behind Darlan. I have the feeling that the puzzle of Peyrouton's appointment can very well be solved in the light of the facts related in that article. It is clear that the "German-French" economic group described there, in which the French are junior partners, is extremely eager to have one or several of its most trustworthy men in power in Africa.

The transaction with Darlan did not succeed because of his past. They looked about for another candidate from the group which *The Nation* described. Peyrouton seemed to be the best bet because he was responsible for Laval's removal in December, 1940, and the Allied authorities fell for the bait.

What you said in your issue of December 26 cannot be repeated often enough: Peyrouton cannot be regarded as a rat fleeing the sinking ship. He has been assigned to his present post —where he is in readiness for higher assignments as the *Herald Tribune* correspondent points out in a cable published today—in order to insure, as outlined in the article you published: (1) acceptance by the Allies of a French government which would keep intact the economic empire that the Germans with their French associates have established in France—with ramifications all over Europe; (2) peace proposals emanating from the same German group which would lead to a definite stabilization throughout Europe of the German economic empire—with or without Hitler. MIRIAM STUART

New York, January 21

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